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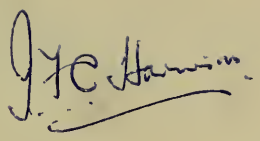

Meliora:

A Quarterly Review

OF

Social Science

IN ITS

Ethical, Economical, Political, and Ameliorative Aspects.

VOL. I.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE success of 'Meliora' renders any preface superfluous. An average circulation of *seven thousand* copies quarterly during the first year of its existence, and an unprecedented welcome from the press, sufficiently justify the introduction to the advancing intelligence and philanthropy of the British people, a Review of Social Science combining literary excellence with unusual cheapness. The Editors, encouraged by the support they have received, pledge themselves to increased efforts to sustain and improve the Review, and they rely on their numerous readers to aid in extending its circulation.

Meliora.

ART. I.—*Meliora.*

IN the history of civilisation it is instructive to observe the oscillations of the social pendulum. In proportion to its progress towards cultivation, refinement, intellectual and political greatness, has been its rebound towards vice and moral degradation. National advancement abroad and civil retrogression at home have followed each other in fatal sequence, until the great empires of antiquity found within themselves the elements of their decay. Occupied with the prosecution of prowess, political extension, commerce, science, and art, nations have been prone to neglect the preservation of their social health and the cure of incipient diseases; and it has not infrequently come to pass that immediately after their acquisition of glory they have been broken into fragments and ruined. As a meteor which pursues for a time a path of brightness in the heavens outrivalling the steadier light of stars, suddenly bursts by the force of its internal decomposition, and falls upon the earth a calcined mass of blackness, so have the great powers of the world risen, flourished, and fallen. Nor is that nation which was blessed with special revelations and fenced by divine interdicts an exception to the rule. The reign of Solomon was the Augustan age of Israel. Never did their commerce flourish more, or a wider limit bound their territory, or greater reputation command for them the respect of the neighbouring monarchies, or such wealth enrich them. Literature was in its ascending scale. David's harp had just yielded those Hebrew melodies which have made him ever the Psalmist of the Church, and Solomon's fertile genius and extensive research had given three thousand proverbs, and songs a thousand and five; and Natural History from the cedars of the lofty Lebanon to the hyssop which crept up the garden wall, and birds and fowl and creeping things and fishes. At peace with all around, with silver as plenty as the stones in Jerusalem's streets, with a race of men who had newly laid aside their conquering arms, the kingdom of David's son seemed to possess a brilliant prospect of strength, greatness, and continuance. But it had reached its climacteric. The sons of David's hardy and long-tried warriors lacked their fathers' manly virtue; and amidst the wealth, peace, and luxury of

 their

their unparalleled prosperity they sank into corruption and effeminacy, until, at the death of the wisest of men and of monarchs, the polity of Israel became dismembered, lost its grandeur and *prestige*, and gradually died away. Inattention to social evils was the cause of their national disaster. It is true that these were intimately connected with their declension from piety and purity of worship; but religion was an integral part of their social system, and their temporal prosperity was dependent on its faithful cultivation. Their internal health did not bear a proportion to their outward greatness, and the explosion of the commonwealth was the ruinous and melancholy result.

It was the same with the powers of paganism. The Persians were a race inured to toil, unconscious of defeat, and had acquired in their mountains a courage that feared no difficulty. When Cyrus, with enlarged intelligence and improved observation, rose to their command, they reached, in conjunction with the Medes, the chief sovereignty of the world, and made imperial Babylon their metropolis. But the Medo-Persian empire had its culminating point in Cyrus. Babylonian manners did for a season elevate and polish them, but Babylonian luxury was too much for the temperate sons of Elam. Though possessed of extensive territory, a vast army, and many millions of people, corruption and vice lay beneath their boasting, and the time came that three hundred Greeks did not fear to meet the million-peopled army of Xerxes at Thermopylæ, and Greece, with its comparatively small states and few troops, left thousands of Persians on the field of Marathon and by the rock of Salamis, and under Alexander the Great laid prostrate one of the mightiest empires of antiquity. Social disorganisation enervated and paralysed them.

It was the same with Greece. Spartan bravery and Athenian genius had made that small country rival and outstrip greater and more imposing powers. Warfare can never furnish more illustrious examples of martial skill and bravery than those recorded in classic story. Art flourished to its height, for never has architecture or sculpture attained similar perfection. The works of Greece are models to the moderns. Literature had then its grandest development. The Athenian schools, besides being unrivalled in their day, have sent forth volumes of wisdom which have been the study of sages for the last two thousand years, and which are as worthy of renown and research as ever. The Grecian colonies were what ours are now—the reproduction of the mother country in rival commonwealths. To Greece the ardent student, the rising statesman, and the busy merchant resorted to perfect their education, to improve their manners, and promote their commerce. But at the period of most national glory Greece was degenerating by means of social diseases; and nowhere have

we

we such affecting monuments of a nation's fall as among the ruins of ancient art and on the fields of matchless renown where we find one of the basest of European kingdoms.

'Tis Greece, but living Greece no more.
'Twere long to tell and sad to trace
Each step from grandeur to disgrace.
Enough—no foreign foe could quell
Thy soul, till from itself it fell.
Yes! self-abasement paved the way
For villain bonds and despot sway.
What can he tell who treads thy shore?
No legend of thine olden time,
No theme on which the muse might soar
High as thine own in days of yore,
When man was worthy of thy clime.
The hearts within thy valleys bred,
The fiery souls that might have led
Thy sons to deeds sublime
Now crawl, from cradle to the grave,
Slaves!'

It was the same with Rome. From small beginnings, and by means of a hard struggle, did that state arise to a place among Italian powers. By a zeal that nothing could quench, an ardour that nothing could chill, and a courage that ever realised a victory, did the Romans make progress in civilisation and power. Under the emperors they reached their zenith, when their arts and literature bore the palm next to the Grecian models, their civil polity was perfected to become the text-book for modern times, and their empire stretched from Britain to the rising of the sun, and from Germany beyond the Pillars of Hercules. Under the Cæsars, the intellectual refinement, political aggrandisement, and world-wide influence of Rome, were unparalleled in history. But what a decline and fall were hers Gibbon has told us in his history. At the period referred to, the scenes of revelry and dissipation were most unblushing and debasing, the corruption of the people general, slavery extensive, and the social health blighted. Inattentive to internal necessities and reforms, all was sacrificed to eternal pomp and pride and luxury, the condition of the masses grew worse and worse, and the barbarous nations of the north overthrew with little loss or difficulty the worn-out Romans. Just as the boiling lava from Vesuvius overwhelmed Herculaneum and Pompeii, leaving them ruins for the gaze of travellers, so have its own social convulsions left Rome. Its modern inhabitants reside amidst the *débris* of a mightier city, and seem to exist only to show to admiring strangers what manner of men the sires of such unworthy sons were of yore.

'Where is Rome?
She lives but in the tale of other times;
Her proud pavilions are the hermit's home,
And her long colonnades, her public walks,

Now faintly echo to the pilgrim's feet
Who comes to muse in solitude, and trace
Through the rank moss revealed her honour'd dust.
But not to Rome alone has fate confined
The doom of ruin; cities numberless.
Tyre, Sidon, Carthage, Babylon, and Troy,
And rich Phœnicia—they are blotted out,
Half razed from memory, and their very name
And being in dispute.'

With their political advancement, these proud and potent nations of antiquity allowed inward sores to fester which eventually destroyed them. Their history is a lesson to all subsequent time. It is the practical philosophy which statesmen have to study; but it is instruction which Christian states have been slow to learn, and which, amidst our many privileges in this land of liberty and religion, we have too seldom remembered. Social evils have been growing with our greatness, and are out of all proportion to the civil and religious advantages which we possess.

The greatness of this empire surpasses all antiquity. Science has attained among us its richest discoveries and its greatest powers. Our machinery has been developed to a very great extent, and made the handmaid of every species of industry. Our commerce spreads its ships over every sea. Our colonies and dependencies never behold the setting sun. Our wealth is enormous, and has been rated by economists at *eight hundred millions a year*. Our liberties are the birthright and possession of every man: they give every one a title to justice, and afford an asylum for the exiles of the world. Our literature is vast and varied, and accessible to the poorest. Our civilisation is high and real, not starched as in the days of Elizabeth and James I., nor hypocritical as in the eighteenth century, but honest and honourable. Never were more upright men in power, or more integrity in public offices. Patronage is more discreetly administered, and judges are superior to bribes. Our religion is practical and expansive, has sought to reach the degraded at home, and to extend its blessings to the nations of heathendom. Nevertheless, the condition of the masses is alarming all true patriots and philanthropists. There are social evils showing their virulence and undermining our health. Ignorance, irreligion, impurity, pauperism, crime, and intemperance, have been on the increase. Our education ranks far below some of the continental nations. The numbers who never attend a place of worship are a scandal on our Christianity. The impurity of our great cities is unblushing and vast. Our intemperance is a cancer on our industry and morals and a reproach to our nation, while it increases pauperism, disease, and crime, injures productive labour, and demoralises the masses of the people. We are all interested in the reform of these abuses, as well as of others that, owing to ignorance, prejudice,

judice, or evil, may still disgrace our statute book, or injure the morals of the people. All who value and enjoy the enlightenment which is now our privilege, should be anxious to extend the blessing to those who are degraded, to reform, and educate, and christianize them. In every view of the subject it concerns the statesman, the patriot, and the Christian, to promote healthier and purer morals among the people, and medically to deal with the diseases which endanger our social welfare. Let us not be misunderstood. It cannot be denied that a great improvement in the social condition of the people has taken place during the last quarter of a century. Class is not so alienated from class. Revolutionary sentiments are not so characteristic of the manufacturing districts. Labour is not so oppressive. Ignorance is not so gross. There is a kindlier feeling among those who had given up all religious ordinances towards Christian ministers. All this may be freely admitted: but much remains to be accomplished. Seen in the light of our improved civilisation and Christianity, there are evils of deadly virus still at work which demand the earnest consideration and persevering efforts of all practical philanthropists, who, with 'Meliora' as their motto, might strive to make things better.

Let us glance at some of the social evils that demand improvement. We cannot attempt a complete social nosology.

The subject of EDUCATION is of general and commanding interest. It is the most controversial of all public themes, most difficult to agree upon, though most necessitous to the community. Amidst the din of agitation, we scarcely hear the hum of the schools. No doubt, of late years education has received an improved development, and better teachers instruct in more intelligent and practical methods the children who are at school. But the proportion in attendance is sadly below a normal condition of popular education. The means in exercise are vastly below the existing ignorance. The institutions opened are not overcrowded by scholars. A demand is as necessary as supply. Though the State spends half a million a year on education, 158,000*l.* of which go to ten thousand auxiliary teachers as apprentices to the profession, and voluntary effort meets public grants by large contributions of money, yet the multiplication of teachers and schools have made no perceptible inroad upon the mass of ignorance in our great cities. Cheapen education, increase seminaries; but without some means of inducing or compelling the children of the lowest classes of society to attend, ignorance is not diminished. The factory competes too successfully with the school. There is a great demand for juvenile labour, and parents do not scruple to tax their tender children to enlarge the income of the household. In such centres of industry as Glasgow and Manchester this evil operates fully, and they may be taken as indices of other manufacturing towns. A recent inquiry,

inquiry, conducted with great care, revealed this astounding fact, that 'of the youth of the educational age in Glasgow, only 1 in 14 attends school.' In Manchester, on thorough inquiry, undertaken by philanthropic individuals, and more exact and reliable than the census of 1851, there were found not at school 54,670 children belonging to the labouring classes, of which number the half, at least, ought to have been receiving instruction. These are only samples of a necessity existing in the country for more schools, and some means of securing the attendance of children. Englishmen may not like compulsory education; but good government demands that 'no man shall be allowed to rear his family a burden, a nuisance, and a danger to the community.' It may be difficult to make the policeman aid the schoolmaster, as is done in Prussia; but it is surely practicable, expedient, and right that education should be made a passport to all employment, and that the Factory Act should be amended to this beneficent extent. We are not concerned at present with any of the controverted schemes of Popular Education, but with the fearful amount of ignorance that demands the attention of all interested in social reform. What may be the result of the Parliamentary Commission appointed to inquire into the state of education it is too early to predict; but we trust that it will be the suggestion of some practical *Meliora.*

Spiritual destitution is another existing disease of our social condition. The census returns of 1851 revealed an amount of this quite appalling. The population of England and Wales was then about 18,000,000. The number of sittings in places of public worship necessary, according to the proportion of 58 per cent. suggested by the late Dr. Chalmers, and adopted by Mr. Horace Mann, is 10,398,013. The actual number was then 10,212,563. But this fails to represent the true state of matters. In towns containing a population of 100,000 and upwards, the proportion is only 34 per cent. Thus Birmingham lacked about 70,000 sittings, Manchester 80,000, Liverpool 90,000, Glasgow 70,000, and London nearly 700,000! But what was the actual attendance then? There were open on the census Sunday, 8,498,520 sittings for morning service, attended by 4,647,482. The other portions of the day presented a proportion somewhat similar. Here then we have, allowing for persons present at one service and not at another, a very great proportion of the people who are neglecting public worship altogether. Mr. Mann estimates the number throughout England and Wales at upwards of *five millions.* No one professing the Christian faith can regard this otherwise than as a great social evil. Mr. Mann endeavours to account for it by the following causes: 'social distinctions,' 'indifference of the ministers to the social condition of the poor,' 'misconception

'misconception of the motives of ministers,' 'poverty and crowded dwellings,' and 'the inadequate supply of Christian agency.' That these causes have operated prejudicially, there can be no doubt; but the present reveals a growing improvement on the second and third. Ministers of religion are, to some extent, interesting themselves actively in the condition of the poor, and those neglecting public worship. The people generally seem to respect their motives and welcome their visits. The sermons to the working classes, lately organised, have been wonderfully successful, and will, we doubt not, prove eminently beneficial. But when we consider the rapid increase of great cities, and the necessity for the proportionate addition to places of worship and Christian agencies, all that has been done during the last seven years since the census was taken has produced little effect. There is at home, in this field of enterprise, a sphere for all Christian men, for liberality and benevolence, that the streets and alleys of our crowded cities may become the habitations of a religious people, who rejoice when it is said unto them, on the first day of the week, 'Let us go into the house of the Lord.'

The IMPURITY prevalent in our great cities is attracting the attention of philanthropists at present. It is high time that it should engage their earnest consideration. We have allowed this sore to fester too long, until its dire results appal us. We cannot but regard the movements recently made on this subject as of the greatest importance to social health and public morals. Attention will be called to it in another portion of this journal.

The shocking SANITARY condition of many of our cities and large towns is a blot on our advanced science and civilisation, and on our professed philanthropy. In many cases we have shown zeal on behalf of those who are at a distance, and have neglected our own flesh and blood, who are passing a brief and miserable existence in the dirty, badly-ventilated, overcrowded dwellings of the lanes and alleys of our populous towns. Bad air, bad light, bad water, bad drainage, and bad homes, are annually destroying many of our fellow-citizens, who claim at our hands some sympathy and help. Until very recently we have allowed these evils to produce their fevers, and encourage cholera and other fell diseases.

In thousands of homes numbers are huddled together in apartments, where, as Sir James Clark declares:—'The atmosphere in the morning smells more like that of a charnel-house than an apartment for the repose of human beings.' In addition to this is the fact that many dead are retained in houses where whole families are living, eating, and sleeping in a single room. On this subject the statement of Mr. Hopley, in a 'Lecture on Respiration,' published a few years ago, is sufficiently alarming, when he says:—

'From

'From evidence laid before Parliament, it appears that of the deaths which take place in the metropolis, "upwards of one half are of the labouring classes;" and further, "that of these, four out of five occur in families that have only one living and sleeping room." Now the annual deaths for London may be estimated at 52,000, of which upwards of 26,000 are of the labouring population. Upwards of 20,000 of these deaths, therefore, occur in families possessing but "one living and sleeping room;" that is to say, in upwards of 20,000 instances, every year, the corpse must be kept, during the interval between death and interment, in the same room in which the surviving members of the family live and sleep.'

This consists with the harrowing description recently given by Dr. Letheby, Medical Officer of Health to the City of London, and copied into almost all the periodical press throughout the country. He found the rate of mortality increasing, the condition of the houses becoming worse, while amidst the overcrowding, the filth, and the indecency that were there, disease, licentiousness, and misery abounded. That which exists in London may be observed in many other places, and the consequences are everywhere the same. We need only to follow the footsteps of the cholera to mark the towns and villages whose sanitary condition was unhealthy. Of late, by means of the Board of Health, Acts of Parliament, sanitary associations, and other societies, considerable interest has been awakened in this matter, and some improvements made; but we are yet far from the normal condition which an enlightened people should attain. Until better air, better water, better houses be secured for the masses of the people, we cannot wonder that the narrow streets and lanes of our cities should flow with 'immortal sewerage,' while that which should be washed away stagnates and dispenses death.

There can be no doubt that an improved sanitary condition of a place is a means of diminishing disease, poverty, vice, and crime. In houses that have been erected on sanitary principles this has been remarkably exhibited. Dr. Southwood Smith cites a case illustrative of this. In Lambeth-square, near Waterloo-road, a population of 434 souls were huddled together. One person in five was diseased, and fifty and sixty per thousand annually died. The square was drained, water was made abundant, and used to carry away what formerly remained in cesspools. The change soon appeared. The mortality declined to thirteen per thousand. 'Moral pestilence,' said Dr. Smith, 'has at the same time been checked. The intemperate have become sober, and the disorderly well-conducted, since taking up their abode in these healthful and peaceful dwellings. No charge of crime, no complaint even of disturbance has been lodged at any police-station, against a resident in these dwellings since their first occupancy.' It is possible, then, to amend these evils, and to promote the comfort, the health, and the morals of the sunken masses of the people by a sanitary reformation.

The amount of PAUPERISM in the United Kingdom is great, when

when considered in the light of the industrial advantages and colonial openings offered to the whole community. A million and a half of persons are annually receiving relief, and eight millions of pounds are expended from the public rates to meet this. But in addition, according to 'The Times,' the cost of begging amounts to a million and a half; thus making the annual expenditure of *ten millions* for the support of the poor. This is a large sum. That the poor should be provided with the means of sustenance is a positive duty. It is one of the beneficent influences of Christianity, that it cares for the poor. But it is remarkable that so much poverty should abound, amidst British industry and wealth, as to require an annual expenditure of ten millions. That this indicates social disease will, we think, appear to the reader ere he finishes this paper.

The statistics of CRIME afford another means of ascertaining our social condition. Gaols are too small. Our colonies refuse to receive our criminals. The number of commitments is increasing. 'The total number of commitments in 1854 was 29,359 against 27,057 in 1853, and 27,510 in 1852, showing an increase of 8·5 per cent. on the four preceding years.' Increase of population may be pleaded against this; but crime was 30 per cent. higher in 1854 than in 1835, notwithstanding all educational efforts.

Juvenile delinquency lately reached so great a height as to awaken an interest which has vibrated to the legislature, and has resulted in the public support of ragged schools and reformatories for the prevention of crime—institutions which have been an incalculable blessing to many youths.

INTEMPERANCE is one of the greatest social evils in this empire. Our country, which ranks so high among the nations for civilisation, liberty, and commerce, is confessedly the most drunken. Its drinking customs eat out the life of the lower classes of the people. Formerly the upper and middle classes were public scandal for their drunkenness; but now, when these are reforming, the lower classes have become the prey of this insidious and destructive vice. The facilities for drink abound, and publicans outnumber all other trades. In cities and towns spirit-shops and beer-houses are at every corner, and in the most rural districts they are numerous. In some localities they are in the proportion of 1 to every 15 houses, and throughout the country there is 1 to every 137 people. They are resorted to by our mechanics, artisans, and labourers, and, alas! too frequently by their wives also:—

> 'Tis here they learn
> The road that leads from competence and peace
> To indigence and rapine; till at last
> Society, grown weary of the load,
> Shakes her encumbered lap and casts them out.'

Intemperance costs the country about 60,000,000*l.* a-year. It is

is the chief cause of all the social evils to which we have referred. Ministers of religion testify that it is the greatest hindrance to their success. City missionaries regard it as the most powerful obstacle to their labour among the sunken masses of the people. Poor-law guardians ascribe to it the majority of cases of pauperism. Our judges and prison governors declare that it occasions most criminal offences. Medical men in hospitals and in general practice find it the most prolific source of disease. Governors of lunatic asylums refer the insanity of many of their unhappy patients to its dire influence. Commercial statistics show its injurious effects on trade and shipping, and vital statistics its evil influence on life.

It is the chief cause of *pauperism*. Sir Archibald Alison, the sheriff of Lanarkshire, attributes one-half of the pauperism to intemperance. The late Archibald Prentice, who was well versed in the social condition of Manchester, says that two-thirds of the pauperism there is similarly originated. An Edinburgh inspector of the poor made this statement: 'An experience of now nearly twenty years in the management of the poor has forced me to the conclusion that nearly two-thirds of the destitution which exists, and is relieved from the poor's funds, is traceable either to the more remote or immediate causes of intemperance.' Of 21,000*l.* expended, the same individual deducts 12,000*l.* for the fruits of drunkenness. If we take this proportion as a fair average, then of the ten millions spent in support of the poor, *six* are caused by intemperance; and of the million and a half of persons relieved, about one million are brought to poverty by drink. Were this social evil cured, or even considerably arrested, how much would taxation be lightened, and how many families would be saved from poverty!

That intemperance is the chief cause of *crime* in this country has been frequently proved before Committees of the House of Commons on the evidence of magistrates, gaol chaplains, and others interested in the subject. From some statistics now before us, procured and published by the Scottish Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness, it is abundantly attested that nearly fifty per cent. of commitments in Scotland are directly caused by intemperance, and two-thirds of the other cases indirectly. The opinions of those who have occasion to come into closest contact with criminals have frequently expressed the same conclusion. We need not repeat what has been often quoted; but we may be permitted to give a few extracts from reports and speeches by persons whose words have authority. Matthew Davenport Hill, Esq., the recorder of Birmingham—a gentleman whose interest in social reform is known to all, and whose ample opportunity for careful examination of criminal cases, as well as his painstaking consider-

ation

ation of the question, entitle him to be heard with respect—made the following statement to the grand jury of Birmingham in January, 1855 :—

'Those of you who bear in mind the charges which have been delivered from this bench, on the causes of crime, will naturally ask how it is that the enormous consumption of intoxicating liquors which prevails through the land—a source of crime not only more fertile than any other, but than all others added together—should have been hitherto passed by, or only have been brought under notice as incidental to some other topic. The subject has occupied my thoughts for years; strange, indeed, must have been the state of my mind if it had not forced itself upon my attention, since the evils arising from the use of intoxicating drinks meet us at every turn. And, for myself, I cannot pass an hour in court without being reminded, by the transactions which are put in evidence before me, of the infinite ramifications of this fatal pest.'

He then goes on to say :—

'Crime, gentlemen, is the extreme link in the chain of vice forged by intemperance—the last step in the dark descent, and thousands who stop short of criminality, yet suffer all the other miseries (and manifold they are) with which the demon Alcohol afflicts his victims.' *

The Rev. John Clay, long the chaplain of Preston Gaol, and well known as an accomplished statist and practical philanthropist, said in his Thirty-first Report, 1855 :—

'I would note the fact, that during two years I have heard 1,126 male prisoners attribute their offences—frauds, larcenies, robberies, burglaries, rapes, homicides—to drink! And if every prisoner's habits and history were fully inquired into, it would be placed beyond doubt that *nine-tenths* of the English crime requiring to be dealt with by the law, arises from the English sin which the same law scarcely discourages.' †

Similar testimonies are being delivered every day by those who are connected with the administration of criminal law; and they are sufficiently alarming to demand the attention of our statesmen, philanthropists, and the sober and industrious people. They force the conviction upon all who desire to advance social reform that some stronger restraint than has been hitherto tried should be laid on the traffic in intoxicating liquors for the protection of public virtue and the welfare of the people.

Intemperance is a great cause of *disease*. Of course we do not mean to affirm that disease would be extirpated if the community were delivered from drunkenness. But just as the removal of filth is a prevention of cholera, so the promotion of temperance would lessen the multifarious ills which body and spirit endure from

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* See the valuable and able volume recently published, entitled—'Suggestions for the Repression of Crime, contained in charges delivered to grand juries of Birmingham; supported by additional facts and arguments. Together with articles from reviews and newspapers, controverting or advocating the conclusions of the author.' By M. D. Hill, Esq. London, Parker and Son, 1857.

† Strong language has also been used in reference to the evils of intemperance in a late number of the 'North British Review,' by Charles Buxton, Esq., M.P., and in the 'Edinburgh Review,' by the late Rev. W. J. Conybeare, in whose early death that journal has lost one of the happiest successors of that galaxy of brilliant men who first gave it celebrity.

drunkenness

drunkenness. Bodily diseases are greatly induced by drinking. Indeed, the habitual use of intoxicating drinks is injurious to the constitution. It is an artificial mode of life inconsistent with the natural operation of bodily functions. They exercise a deleterious influence upon the nervous system, the eye, the alimentary canal, the liver, the heart, and the kidneys, as may be learned from medical opinions of the highest authority. It is well known that the greater part of those who fall victims to fever and other epidemic diseases are such as indulge in ardent spirits, and the vices to which they inflame them. On this subject the evidence of Dr. Gordon, of the London Hospital, given to the Parliamentary Committee, may be sufficient. 'My attention,' says he, 'was called to it some time ago, at the time I was assistant physician to the hospital, and was in the habit of seeing the out-patients to the amount of some thousands, probably, in the course of the year. I kept an account for twelve months. . . . . It amounted to 65 per cent. upon some thousands.' Coroners bear the same evidence. Mr. Wakley asserted long ago that 900 out of 1,500 deaths annually brought before him were caused by excessive drinking. Once and again, though we believe he has expressed himself otherwise since, did this able coroner state: 'I am surprised that the legislature, which is justly particular about chemists and druggists vending poison, is not equally so with the vendors of gin, which appears to cause such a dreadful waste of life.'

Insanity is occasioned more by this vice than by any other single influence, if we except hereditary disposition. Dr. Browne, of the Crichton Asylum, Dumfries, in a paper on the subject, declares that of 57,520 cases in the present century which he has carefully examined, and which were treated in public asylums, 10,717 were caused by intemperate habits. This does not include the numbers of the insane kept at home or in private boarding-houses. 'It is enough,' says this gentleman, 'that while the virtuous sorrows, the inevitable misfortunes, and the physical diseases, and the many other evils to which man is exposed, produce in fifty years 40,000 lunatics, drunkenness, drinking, the pleasures of the table, produce 10,000.' The contrast between drunken and sober countries in relation to insanity is very striking. 'In Scotland there is 1 lunatic to 563 sane persons; in Spain 1 to 7,181.' 'In Edinburgh every sixth lunatic owes his misfortune to intemperance; in Palermo every twenty-first lunatic is in the same predicament.' The late Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London, from statistics of 1,271 lunatics, found that 649, or nearly one-half, were deprived of reason by intemperance. A most lamentable fact connected with this is, that the children of drunkards are weak, hysterical, wayward, and diseased. The late Rev. W. J. Conybeare, in his able article on Intemperance in the 'Edinburgh Review,' declares that of 300 idiots

idiots in Massachusetts, 145 were the children of drunkards. These facts—and they might easily be multiplied a hundredfold—are sufficiently alarming, and call for some remedial measure to arrest a growing evil. We might assert, also, how much intemperance, and the manufacture of and traffic in intoxicating drinks injure remunerative trade and lessen the demand for productive labour. The economics of this question form an argument of singular force and of practical power, were it brought out fully, as we trust it will be in the pages of this journal. It is only necessary at present, in thus hinting at the subject, to state that, from statistics of undoubted authority, it has been proved that of 100*l.* worth of shoes, 37*l.* go to the workman, 40 per cent. of earthenware, 48 per cent. of linen yarn, 66 per cent. of woollen cloth, besides 5 per cent. for making clothes. Whereas of 100*l.* spent in alcoholic drinks, only 2*l.* 10*s.* go for labour! The manufacturer of useful articles will employ 34 men at 1*l.* 5*s.* per week, where the manufacturer of strong drink will employ but *two*. Working-men should be made to understand this fact—it is worth remembering—that the manufacturer of alcoholic drinks employs but one labourer where the manufacturer of other commodities employs *seventeen*. If the destructive vice of intemperance were prevented, the demand for productive labour in useful articles would be greatly increased, and the revenue of the State would be supplied by the greater purchases of taxed goods. But the economics of this question is too great a subject for our present limits.

It may now be asked, What is the cure proposed for this social disease? We unhesitatingly answer, that when any vice becomes dangerous to the community, it must be dealt with surgically. It must be cut off by legal restraint and moral reprehension. Those to whom ardent spirits are a temptation ought at once and for ever to abstain from their use. These stimulants, when once their fire has kindled a passion, are not to be trifled with. The passion is like phosphorus, easily ignited and rapid in its combustion. To save such a number as annually fall into poverty, crime, disease, and an early grave; to preserve many homes which annually become a waste and a place of weepers; to save wives from widowhood, children from orphanage, and generations from hereditary diseases; to save souls from suicide, the terrible spectre of their own consciences, the accusations of Heaven, and the dread retribution, let us promote abstinence. To keep feet from falling into a pit so bottomless; appetite from craving with a thirst insatiable; means from melting into water which cannot be gathered up again; men from becoming paupers, dependent on the pitiful dole of a poor-law officer; invalids, with bloated face, blushing nose, and bloody eyes; maniacs, with 'a brute, unconscious gaze,' with *delirium tremens* peopling the room with shapes of hideous fiends,

fiends, from becoming social and moral wrecks, outcasts from society and from God, let us aid in delivering the land from drunkenness.

But many of our readers may not be tempted with ardent spirits to become drunkards. They have not felt any harm from the use of strong drink. They never took too much. They let their 'moderation be known to all men.' They are exemplary citizens. But they see their fellow-citizens ruining themselves on every side, their families becoming dependent on the public, and the tax to feed and punish them grudged; but they do nothing more than show the tempted that they can play with fire and not be burned. Their weaker brethren, like Samuel Johnson, 'cannot take a little;' they cannot take coals into their bosom without being burned. Something more than has yet been attempted must be done on behalf of the drunken masses of the people. It would not be a great sacrifice to abstain for the sake of the drunkard. Sympathy with the degraded, philanthropy, patriotism, and Christianity, demand that some earnest and active and self-denying effort be made. What father would put in the power of a drunken son the temptation that would ruin him? A family has a right to protect itself; and, for the sake of one, *ten* would willingly forego the use of intoxicating drinks as beverages. There are hearts among us warm with a pure benevolence, who are ready to give labour and means to save a needy or perishing brother, who regularly surrender a portion of their money for philanthropic purposes. Here is a sphere for liberality and example. The community is cursed with drunkenness, and tempted by facilities for drinking. Let philanthropists combine to preserve social as they do sanitary health, and remove the temptation from the imperilled. A community has a right to protect itself; and it is a virtue to sacrifice for the prevention of sin. The weeping mother who has now to sally forth to scenes of revelry and debauch to seek her drunken son; the faithful wife that sits at home beside her cradle, and can scarcely sing a lullaby to her crying child for the sobs she heaves, and the salt tears she sheds over the husband of her youth, who is drinking in the tavern; all the families who have any member addicted to this vice, and there are *two out of every three homes* of the humbler classes in this painful position; the tempted, who are so often dragged to spend their wages and blight their peace by indulgence in alcoholic drinks; the besotted drunkards themselves, who are given over to the insidious vice and its consequences, and who cannot resist the opportunity, would all hail deliverance, were the traffic in intoxicating liquors totally suppressed.

But the evil is not merely domestic or provincial, it is national; and a people have a right to protect themselves. The patriotic and

and the Christian, who care for the commonweal, are bound to attempt to roll away the reproach of drunkenness from the land, and to save the tens of thousands who every year perish by this evil. More than ever is this cause growing in interest and importance. More than ever are Christian men convinced of the necessity of restraining the liquor traffic, and of suppressing it altogether, except for medicinal, artistic, and sacramental purposes. But public-houses are *licensed* by the State, and a large portion of our revenue is raised by 'the sale of what is both physically and morally injurious to the people.' That which is morally wrong can never be politically right. It is contrary to all sound morality to enact laws which will, either directly or indirectly, foster crime. That the laws at present in operation with regard to public-houses have such a tendency there can be no doubt. 'The beer-house and the gin-shop,' says the Recorder of Birmingham, 'are the authorised temptations offered by the legislature to crime.' There must be an alteration in these statutes. The conscience of the country is being aggrieved by them, and when once the public feeling is aroused on a matter of right, its demand must, sooner or later, be met. Compromise is fatal, and delay only increases the demand. Many who have never been numbered among Temperance Societies are now convinced of this necessity. Alexander Thomson, Esq., of Banchory, in his valuable work, recently published, thus puts the case:—

'Alterations in our excise laws cannot be urged on very rapidly; they must have the sanction of a large amount of public concurrence, without which the best laws may be enacted, but fail to be observed. Public opinion is showing itself strongly opposed to drunkenness; let not our legislators be behind their constituents, but grapple vigorously with the evil, commence boldly with the worst forms of it, and drive it from one stronghold after another, until it be banished as thoroughly as laws can do it from our shores. The end to be ever kept in view is, that a time must come when no portion of our national income shall be derived from the annual ruin in soul and body of thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens.'*

Already beneficent results have flowed from the prohibition of the liquor traffic on one day in the week in Scotland, and from the reduction of the facilities for drinking in the morning and at night of other days. In Glasgow there has been, during three years since the passing of the Act, a reduction of police cases of drunkenness, amounting to 18,502, while the population has increased 67,000. This success has been remarkable. But much more must be done by the legislature. The advantage gained is a fixing of the lever, and so long as there is a superincumbent mass of drunkenness legally encouraged, all available force must unite to remove it.

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* 'Punishment and Prevention.' London, James Nisbet and Co. 1857.

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It is high time that philanthropists, patriots, and Christians rise, combine, and labour in this good work. With them, and by their efforts with the people, the great cause remains, and should there be earnest action, strong sympathy, and generous self-denial, this vice may be extirpated. Already attempts remarkably successful have been made in several States of America, by the enactment of a law prohibiting the common sale of intoxicating liquors.* In a different manner, and more by a permissive than a general prohibitory enactment—by granting the people the power of prohibiting the traffic in their own localities—is the source of drunkenness to be dried up in this country. A popular movement only can be permanently beneficial in this land, where the enactment of laws arises so much from the wishes of the people, and where the majesty of law is respected.

Intemperance is not the only vice among us; but it is the most prolific source of social disease. It is the cause, directly and indirectly, of three-fourths of the juvenile depravity, one-third of the insanity, one-third of the suicides, two-thirds of the pauperism, and a great proportion of the impurity and ungodliness that abound in the land. It wastes at least 60,000,000*l.* a-year, which, considering the necessities of the world, might be spent in improving the masses at home, and evangelizing the heathen abroad. Were this vice arrested and removed, and the public-houses which foster it suppressed, by God's blessing we should see gaols emptied of two-thirds of their occupants, schools and places of worship better filled, the people provided with labour and adequately rewarded, brought under Christian influence, sanctified with the hope of a blessed immortality, and enabled to leave a legacy of sobriety and good example to generations succeeding them. 'The removal of temptation,' says that eloquent philanthropist, Dr. Guthrie, 'will not always cure the drunkard; but it will certainly check the growth of his class, and prevent many others from learning his habits, until sanguine men might entertain the blessed hope, that, like the monsters of a former epoch, which now lie entombed in the rocks, drunkards may be numbered among the extinct races, classed with the winged serpents and gigantic sloths that were once inhabitants of our globe.'

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* See the cumulative evidence on this subject in Mr. Recorder Hill's work 'Suggestions for the Repression of Crime,' and in the masterly and exhaustive 'Argument for the Legislative Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic,' by Dr. F. R. Lees.

ART. II.—1. C. G. Carus. *Symbolik der menslichen Gestalt. Leipzig*, 1853. *The Symbolisms of the Human Form.*
2. *The Physiognomy of the Human Form.* Quarterly Review, September, 1856.
3. *On the Human Hand, an Index of Mental Development.* By Mr. Beamish, F.R.S. (Read at the Meeting of the British Association in Dublin, August 28, 1857.)

AMONG the great reforms which society has long been expecting from the State, the education of the people is unquestionably the most important. The philanthropist demands it as the only antidote against crime, and the moralist as the only path to virtue. The Christian, doubtless, desires it with equal sincerity; but he regards it only in its denominational phase; and rather than accept the boon in the only way in which the legislature can grant it, he keeps thousands of his fellow-creatures untaught—living and dying in utter ignorance of those laws, human and divine, by which they are judged here and hereafter. May we not hope for the advent to power of a Christian patriot who will remove this blot upon the Protestantism of England, and this stain upon the sincerity of its faith?

But while we thus claim a measure of secular education from the State, and commit to the churches militant the religious oversight of their illiterate retainers, we must urge upon those whom it specially concerns, the necessity of imparting mental instruction to the middle and upper classes of society. The power to read, write, and count is a doubtful accomplishment if we read only what is fabulous, and write only what is scandal, and count only the pelf which we hoard or misspend. The unlettered peasant who takes his religion upon trust—who performs his social duties by instinct, and counts his gains upon his fingers—is a more valuable unit in the social scale than the educated devourer of fiction, the accomplished retailer of untruths, and the most successful votary of Mammon. To be able to read his Bible is a great step in the civilisation of man; to have read it is one still greater. To have fixed in the memory every sentence of the Decalogue, the varied wisdom of Solomon, and the divine precepts of one greater than Solomon, is a hopeful advance in the Christian life; but great as these acquisitions are, and ample as some may deem them for the humble peasant who lives and toils and dies, they form a poor groundwork in the mental culture of the citizen and the Christian.

Dwelling upon a planet belonging to a great system of worlds, revolving round its axis to give us day and night, and round the sun to give us a change of seasons, it is incumbent upon every

man to know something of the wonderful laws by which these arrangements are effected. Enjoying, as we hourly do, the bountiful provision which has been made for our maintenance—the fruits of the earth to nourish us—its flowers to charm us—its life, wild and tame, to toil for us and to feed us—its minerals and its gems, the indispensable elements of civilisation—it is one of our first duties, and ought to be our highest pleasure, to acquire some knowledge of those wonderful creations which are so intimately associated with our daily life. Rejoicing in the light and heat of day, and in the pure ether which we breathe; guided over the ocean and through the desert by the magnetic needle; receiving from afar on the earth's surface, or from beneath the ocean, the electric messages of affection or of business, or trembling under the lightning-bolt and the storm, is it not our highest privilege to investigate and comprehend those various elements and powers which for good or for evil are ever at work around us?

But independently of these obligations to appreciate and extol the works and arrangements of infinite wisdom and goodness, the knowledge thus acquired is the only ballast for minds distracted by superstitious fears, craving for intelligence from the invisible world, and morbidly yearning for that knowledge of the future which is so rankly supplied by avarice and imposture.

It is among the middle and the upper classes of society, more than among the less instructed, that this credulity and love of the marvellous is most conspicuous. It is rank and luxuriant among the votaries of gaiety and idleness, who are incapable of continuous thought, and who have therefore no faith in those forces in the material world, and in those cosmical laws which are in constant operation around us. Who that is acquainted, even superficially, with the facts and laws of electricity and magnetism can for a moment believe that similar forces emanate from human hands and rush through nonconducting materials, hurling them along the floor, or hoisting them into the air, and imparting to them a knowledge of the past, the unseen, and the future? Who that confides in revealed truth, or possesses the least knowledge of the relations between our mental and physical nature, can allow themselves to believe that impostors, male and female, can summon the dead from their graves, marshal them under the table, and perform, with their physical hands, the paltriest tricks that might be appropriate among the inmates of the nursery or the schoolroom?

All such beliefs are the necessary results of an imperfect education—the freaks of ill-trained faculties—the cravings of morbid and mystic temperaments that have been suckled on the husks and garbage of literature, and reared on the rank pastures of our mushroom publications. In the past history of our race these beliefs

beliefs have operated fatally on the happiness of man; and no sooner has science exploded one of them than another, equally appalling, starts into its place. A brief history of the most fascinating of these heresies, and a denunciation of the latest, may be of use to various classes of our readers.

In tracing the history of great inventions, where minds of various powers have been engaged, we see how truth has gradually superseded error, how the speculative tendencies of one inquirer are controlled by the stern reason of another, and how great truths are finally established which command the assent of every well-regulated mind.

In the present day, however, when religion and philosophy are assuming such novel aspects—when the mysterious in revelation is subjected to the scrutiny of philosophy, and philosophy herself straying into the labyrinths of mysticism, and claiming kindred with the supernatural—the imagination has usurped the seat of reason, and we are especially called upon to remonstrate against speculations morally and intellectually degrading.

In mediæval times, when positive knowledge had hardly assumed any substantial form, when the little which did exist was confined to particular classes of society, and when education was equally limited and imperfect, minds of activity and power naturally threw themselves into depths which they could not sound, and among quicksands from which they could not escape, and thus sought in wild speculation for the excitement and notoriety which they could not find in patient inquiry.

But in an enlightened age, when real knowledge has made such extraordinary advances, and when the open fields of literature and science invite into their broad domains every variety of genius, and offer a rich harvest of truths to the patient reaper, it is difficult to discover how men, of undoubted character and high attainments, should have surrendered themselves to opinions not less visionary than the legends and prodigies of the ancient mythology. In the early history of knowledge we may find some explanation of the origin and progress of the occult sciences—of the *necromancy*, the *magic*, the *astrology*, and the *alchemy* which so long deluded the world, and, perhaps, some insight into the rise and propagation of similar delusions in our own day.

The earliest achievements of art and science soon became the cherished possessions of priests and kings; and it was doubtless by their agency that barbarous and untractable communities were first brought under the restraints and discipline of law. To the ignorant observer of nature, everything beyond the range of his daily observation is an object of wonder. The phenomena of the material universe, which have no periodical recurrence, assume

the character of supernatural events, and every new process in art, and every combination in science, become valuable agents, at first of government, at last of civilisation. Thus quickly did knowledge become power, not what it now is, a physical agent controlling the elements for the benefit of man, but a moral sceptre wielded over his crouching mind, acting upon its hopes and fears, and subjugating it to the will of a benefactor or a tyrant.

Nor was this sovereignty of a local nature, originating in the ignorance and docility of any particular race, and established by the wisdom and cunning of any individual tyrant. It existed wherever the supremacy of law was acknowledged, and was indeed a spurious theocracy under which the priest and king appeared as the vicegerents of heaven, bearing the credentials of miracles and prodigies which deceived the senses and overawed the judgments of the vulgar.

A system of imposture, thus universal in its reception, and originating in the strongest principles of our nature, was not likely to suffer any abatement, either in its form or character, amid the turbulence of domestic broils, or the desolations of foreign wars. Our passion for the marvellous, indeed, and our reliance on supernatural interference, increase with impending danger, and the agitated mind seeks with a keener relish to penetrate into the future. Hence is the skill of the sorcerer more eagerly invoked, when 'coming events are casting their shadows before;' and whether our curiosity be indulged or disappointed, or our fears rebuked or allayed, our faith in the supernatural acquires new intensity by its exercise. Nor were the evils of such a system abated by the advancement of civilisation and knowledge. Every discovery in science became a new link in the chain which bound the intellectual slave; and in the moral tariff of antiquity, knowledge was the article of contraband, which, though denied to the people, ever found its way into the bonded crypts of the sanctuary. The lights of science were thus placed under a bushel, and skilfully projected from its spectral apertures to dazzle and confound the vulgar.

In this manner did the powers of science and the sanctities of idolatry exercise a long and a fatal sway over the nations of the world; and when Christianity had widely extended itself throughout Europe, and had lost the simplicity and purity of its early days, there sprung up from its holiest mysteries a system of imposture, hostile to the progress of truth, and not less fatal to the spiritual advancement of man, than that which prevailed among heathen nations. Though the instruments of delusion were changed, the system remained the same; truth and fable entered in definite proportions into the legends of the Church; the lying miracles

miracles of saints, and the incantations of the necromancer deluded the Christian world for many centuries; and in place of having lost their influence, they have been embalmed amid the civilisation of modern times. Under this system the spiritual element obtained the ascendancy, and powerful and haughty kings laid their willing necks beneath the feet of the Bishop of Rome.

But it is not among ecclesiastics only that this love of the supernatural has uprisen with such fearful luxuriance. The pursuits of laymen have been marked with the same extravagances of pretension, and with even a higher demand upon our faith.

The *astrology* of former times was the creed of men who were astronomers, and *alchemy* the creed of chemists; but in both science and imposture were so strangely combined, that *Tycho* and *Kepler* practised the one art, and *Napier*, *Boyle*, *Locke*, *Newton*, and *Leibnitz* the other. But while we denounce these arts as false in their principles and immoral in their tendencies, we must recollect that they had a better foundation than the delusions of the present day; and it is due to the memory of the great men we have named, to make that apology for their belief in alchemy which is to be found in the discoveries of their successors. When we consider that a gas, a fluid, and a solid may consist of the very same ingredients in different proportions; that the same elements, with one or more atoms of water, form different substances; that a virulent poison may differ from the most wholesome food only in the difference of quantity of the same ingredients; that gold and silver—and, indeed, all the metals—may be extracted from transparent crystals, which scarcely differ in their appearance from a piece of common salt; that *aluminium*, a metal with many of the most valuable properties of gold and silver, can be extracted from *clay;* that several of the gems can be crystallized from their elements; and that diamond is nothing more than charcoal—we need not wonder that the most extravagant expectations were entertained of procuring from the basest materials the precious metals and the noblest gems. In the daily experiments of the alchemist, his aspirations must often have been encouraged by the startling results at which he arrived. When any of the precious metals were obtained from the ores of lead and other minerals, it was not unreasonable to suppose that they had been formed during the process, and men not disposed to speculate might have been led to embark in new adventures, to procure a more copious supply, without any insult being offered to reason, or any injury inflicted on morality.

Nor were the attempts of the alchemists to obtain an universal medicine altogether irrational and useless. The success of the Arabian

Arabian physicians, in the use of mercurial preparations, naturally led to the belief that other medicines, still more general in their application, and more efficacious in their healing powers, might yet be brought to light, and we have no doubt that many important discoveries were the result of such overstrained expectations.

Lady Mary Wortley Montague informs us that, so late as the year 1717, there was at Vienna a prodigious number of alchemists.

'The philosopher's stone,' she says, 'is here the great object of zeal and science; and those who have more reading and capacity than the vulgar, have transported their superstition from religion to chemistry; and they believe in a new kind of transubstantiation, which is designed to make the laity as rich as the other kind has made the priesthood. This pestilential passion has already ruined several great houses. There is scarcely a man of opulence or fashion that has not an alchemist in his service, and even the emperor is supposed to be no enemy to this folly, in secret, though he has pretended to discourage it in public.'

Even at the commencement of the present century some eminent individuals thought favourably of alchemy. Professor Robison, a distinguished natural philosopher, in writing to James Watt, in 1800, expresses his opinion 'that the analysis of alkalis and alkaline earths will presently lead to the doctrine of the reciprocal convertibility of all things into all.' . . . 'I expect,' he adds, 'to see alchemy revive, and be as universally studied as ever.'*

The apology which we have now made for the alchemist is not so easily extended to the astrologer; and yet this very year, before the assembled science of England, Dr. Daubeny, the distinguished President of the British Association, did not hesitate to say a little in its favour:—

'If the direction,' he remarked, 'of a bit of steel suspended near the earth, can, as General Sabine has proved, be influenced by the position of a body like the moon, situated at a distance from it of more than 200,000 miles, who shall say that there was anything preposterously extravagant in the conception, however little support it may derive from experience, that the stars might exert an influence over the destinies of man?'

Guarded as this sentiment is, we can hardly accept it as a palliation of the preposterous extravagance charged against astrology. While the solid matter of the moon acts upon our seas with such obvious power, there is nothing at all startling in General Sabine's discovery that her magnetic matter should act upon a bit of magnetised steel. Both of these facts, indeed, are of an entirely different order from the astrological conception, the extravagance of which they are supposed to abate. The most startling scientific fact can never add to the probability of a moral influence contrary to all experience. The American sailor, who, for money, bolted clasp knives, or the milliner who swallowed a paper of needles, or

* Muirhead's 'Life of Watt,' vol. ii. pp. 271, 272.

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the invalid who has been dealing with steel powders, might, in virtue of General Sabine's fact, be under lunar influence, and yet the moon be quite guiltless of tampering with human destinies.

We have made these remarks on the sciences, falsely so called, of ancient times, in order that we may be able to contrast them with those more presumptuous and dangerous speculations against which it is our intention to warn the reader. We do not allude to clairvoyance and spirit-raising—which are even now accepted by some men of high attainments, both in the literary and religious world—but to other extravagancies appealing at this moment to our faith, and more likely, from their supposed foundation in science, to captivate the young and unwary.

The speculations to which we refer have been long working their way into the public mind, fascinating us occasionally in the creations of the poet, and investing the humblest observer with a power which he delights to exercise, and which he is, therefore, unwilling to resign. We speak of the so-called science of *physiognomy*, but especially of that new and morbid expansion of it called the *physiognomy of the human form*, which has been elaborated in Germany, and is now likely to obtain possession of the English mind.

The fundamental proposition of this new art is, 'that every man's mental nature may be discovered in his external form;' and the avowed benefit which it is to confer upon society is, '*that we may, with as little trouble as possible, ascertain the character of our neighbours;*' or, continuing to use the words of its votaries, 'that the inner mind may be known by watching the outer man.'

The physiologist who has taken the most active part in advocating these opinions is Dr. Carus, physician to the king of Saxony, a gentleman whom we have the pleasure of knowing personally, and a man of high intellectual and moral character. A French writer has applied the doctrine to the human hand, and an English author to the most prominent feature in the face.* Had these doctrines been buried in the German tongue we should not have attempted to exhume them; but having been brought prominently forward, defended, and amplified in the most religious, and conservative, and best-circulated journal of the day,† they have taken an aggressive position, which it is a public duty to storm.

The leading argument in this science of 'symbols in the human form,' as it is called, is derived from the nearly universal assent implied in the practice of judging of men by their personal appearance. The opinion of Sir Thomas Browne, Addison, Cowper, Fielding, Southey, and others—men who were quite incapable of

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* 'Notes on Noses.' London, 1852.

† 'Quarterly Review,' No. 187. September, 1856, pp. 452-492.

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carrying on a scientific investigation—are all marshalled in its support, and the student is thus prejudiced, at the commencement of his inquiry, by the authority of great names. The second argument is derived from the occurrence, in various languages, of the expressions, *long-headed*, *shallow-brained*, *brazen-faced*, *supercilious*, *hard-featured*, *stiff-necked*, *open-faced*, *hard-mouthed*, *a good hand*, *a cunning hand*, which are adduced to establish the existence of a general belief in the correspondences not only of *mind* and *body*, but of *mind* and *shape*. Another argument, and certainly a very weak one, is derived from 'the *simple probability* that the outer form would be designed *on purpose* to represent the mental character;' and the expressions of rage, or grief, or fear are dogmatically pronounced to have been 'divinely designed on purpose that the *inner mind* may be known to those who watch the *outer man*.'

Without attempting to show the futility of such arguments, and their absolute inefficiency to prove any truth whatever, it may suffice to state that no attempt is made to establish any one point by an induction of admitted facts, the only legitimate process of dealing with this, or, indeed, with any class of truths. If a hundred soldiers or sailors had their external shapes, general and particular, measured by a physiognomist, ignorant of their inner life, and if, upon a comparison with their real characters, there should be a decided agreement between the two in a majority of cases, we should then have an important fact as our guide. But in order to arrive at a general law, the same experiment must be made, with the same result, on many groups of persons, male and female, in all professions, of all ages, and in all countries.

Such a class of experiments, we venture to say, will never be made, and if they were, they would be incapable of generalisation. In the *first* place, no two physiognomists, if acting separately, would agree in measuring and characterising the forms and indications of the head, hands, and feet of the patient; and, in the *second* place, no two individuals called upon to pronounce upon their real character would agree in their decision. We know very little of the true inner life of our neighbour. In one it is openly and injuriously displayed. In another it is artfully and advantageously concealed; and we may safely aver that character is frequently hid by the very marks which are supposed to display it.

In illustration of these views let us consider the individual features which are supposed to be most symbolical of the intellectual and moral character. Of these the size and shape of the head is one of the most important. The form of the head, as indicated by the facial angle of Camper, and its bulk, as shown by its length, and by an ample forehead, have been too generally admitted as signs of intellectual power. The enemies of phrenology

logy have been in the habit of granting this to their opponents, and upon this basis has been erected the common craniology in which the brain is divided into 36 regions. We now, individually, withdraw the rash admission, and assert that it is not supported by any sound induction. When we hear that certain individuals, of high capacity, have large brains, or ample foreheads, we never hear of the small brains and contracted brows of others who have evinced the same talent; or of the opposite class of imbeciles who have heads and brains equal to those of their neighbours. If the fundamental principle, then, has no statistical support, what truth can we expect in the minor details? According to the new physiognomy, which acknowledges no relationship with phrenology, a head *large in the mid region* indicates a predominance of the feelings over the other faculties; if a little higher it marks a *proneness to superstition or fanaticism;* and if the head is large in the hinder region, it indicates *practical ability*, characterising a race from whom will spring great historic names! Small heads are symbolical of *talent* but not of *genius*, while *very small* ones belong to the excitable class from whom, Dr. Carus says, 'a great part of the misery of society arises.' These properties of heads are obviously incompatible with modern cranioscopy. The reviewer, indeed, expressly declares 'that the phrenological division of the *cerebrum* into the assumed organs is utterly inconsistent with physiology.' This is a valuable admission, for, to change the proverb, when two heresies quarrel, truth has some chance of getting her own.

In the varying expression of the human face the physiognomists find a better support for their opinions. That the emotions of the past and of the present leave permanent traces in the human countenance is doubtless true, and to this extent we are all physiognomists, often very presumptuous ones, and, excepting accidental coincidences, always in the wrong, *when we infer from any external appearance whatever the character and disposition of our neighbour.* In every class of society we encounter faces which we instinctively shun, and others to which we as instinctively cling; but how frequently have we found our estimates to be false? The repulsive aspect has proved to be the result of physical suffering, of domestic disquiet, or of ruined fortunes; and under the bland and smiling countenance, a heart, deceitful and vindictive and 'desperately wicked,' has often been found concealed. The countenance, too, which in manhood was noble and benign, we may have seen scarred in the battle of life, and inscribed with the deep lines which the baseness of friends and the injustice of the world never fail to imprint; and when the manly aspirant after wealth and fame has been cruelly worsted in the race of ambition, and has displayed on the outer man the impress of the emotions which disturbed

disturbed him, how often have we seen him, under altered circumstances, resuming the peaceful and joyous expression of his youth which disappointment and misfortune had but temporarily disguised!

But these views will acquire additional support if we examine large groups of individuals, living under the same influences, and therefore likely to have the same external development. In the haunts of vice, within the precincts of the gaol, in the stock exchange, and in the marts of commerce, we shall find the same variety of form and expression, and the same difficulty in discovering vice or virtue in the outer man. The criminal in the dock, charged with murder, will often bear an honourable comparison with the judge that tries him.

From the general expression of the human face our new physiognomists descend to individual features, and especially call our attention to the *eyes*, the *mouth*, and the *nose*. The eyes, they say, speak to us in their colour. The *dark blue* indicates *effeminacy*,—the *light blue* and *grey*, *activity*,—the *green*, *courage*,—the *hazel*, *mental depth*,—and eyes of a *yellow* cast, *genius*. The *brightness* and *dullness* of the organ—its glance, or flash—are so richly symbolical that in Carus's opinion, instead of saying that 'the style is the man,' we might more justly say, 'the eye is the man.' In refutation of these extravagancies, we boldly assert that there is no expression whatever in the human eyeball, in which we see only the transparent *cornea*, the coloured *iris* with the *pupil* in its centre, and the white *sclerotic*. You may as hopefully search for expression in a *watch-glass* as in the *cornea*, as hopefully in a coloured *wafer* with a hole in its centre as in the *iris*, and as well in a bit of white *kid leather* as in the *sclerotic coat*. In proof of this we have only to compare a glass or artificial eye with an eyeball, when the eyelids are invisible, and to repeat the common experiment in which we cannot recognise the eyes of our friends, when they are looked at through a hole in a window curtain. In the parts of the face in which the eye is set there is doubtless much expression; but when we are told that the width and the height and the angles of the oval aperture in which the eyeball moves, are indications of every variety of intellect and disposition, we feel that we are in the hands of teachers who themselves require to be taught.

In a similar manner, the *nose*, the *mouth*, the *chin*, the *ear*, and even the *hair* are made to instruct us in the character of our neighbour, and the *neck*, the *trunk*, the *hands*, and the *feet*, all become monitors in the same school. Of all these teachers the *nose* is by far the most accomplished. The *Roman* and *Greek*, the *snub* and the *flat*, the *turned up*, and the *turned down*, are made to discourse most dogmatically on all the varieties of human

human temperament; and to measure all the phases of human capacity.

The physiognomists are not agreed upon the number of shapes in the *human hand.* D'Arpentigny adopts *six*, and Dr. Carus *four;* namely, the *elemental*, the *motor*, the *sensitive*, and the *psychical;* and he assigns the same number to the *foot*, viz., the *elemental*, the *sensitive motor*, the *pure motor*, and the *athletic motor.* The elemental foot is that of the Mass, the sensitive motor is that of the *Venus de Medicis*, caricatured in the *Negro;* but when accompanied with a good hand, it indicates elastic power and speed, as in the antique statue of *Mercury.* The *pure motor* is the medium foot, indicating nothing; and the *athletic motor*, symbolising vehemence of will, is that of the *Farnese Hercules.*

Such is a very brief sketch of the new science, which is to maintain the waning excitement of clairvoyance, table-turning, and spirit-rapping. The talents and eloquence of its German and English expositors may obtain for it an extensive popularity, and philosophers, male and female, will not fail to study and apply its symbols. The phrenologist had some difficulty in plying his vocation, even at the social board; but the open countenance cannot be hid, and 'he who dippeth his hand with us in the dish,' may be studying in the taper of our fingers, or in the configuration of our nails, the proofs of imbecility, or the indications of crime.

To desire more knowledge of our neighbour than is indicated in his daily life is to seek an unenviable privilege, and to gratify a dangerous curiosity. Society could hardly have existed had such a power been conferred on man; and if it is impertinently assumed, every exercise of it is either an offering to vanity, or a calumny against virtue. Nor is it less dangerous in its intellectual bearing. If the soul of man is inwrought into every part of his corporeal frame, modifying its outline, and moulding its forms, it cannot be otherwise than material. In the interest, then, of morality and truth we warn our readers against speculations thus fraught with danger. In the blue heavens above,—on the smiling earth beneath,—within its deepest caverns, teeming with the remains of primeval life,—in its ocean depths, instinct with wondrous creations;—and in the arrangements of the social world to which we belong, there is ample scope for the exercise of our noblest faculties. Science has never derived any truth, nor Art any invention, nor Humanity any boon, from those presumptuous mystics who riot amid Nature's subverted laws, burrowing in the caverns of the invisible world, and attempting to storm the impregnable sanctuary of the Future.

ART.

ART. III.—1. *The Opium Trade.* By D. Matheson, Esq. Edinburgh: Constable and Co. 1857.
2. *The Contraband Traffic in Opium the disturbing element in all our Intercourse with China.* London: Seeleys.
3. *Rise and Progress of British Opium Smuggling.* By Major-General Alexander. London. 1850.
4. *A Word about Opium; and more Words about Opium.* By the Same.
5. *Opium Revenue of India.* London: Allen and Co.
6. *The Question Answered.* A reply to last named. Seeleys.
7. *The North British Review*, February, 1857.
8. *The Edinburgh Review*, April, 1857.
9. *The Reports of the House of Commons, from* 1781 *to* 1783. *Vols. V. and VI.*
10. '*Insults in China.*' *Parliamentary Blue Book*, 1857.
11. *And other Parliamentary Papers relating to China.*

'FELIX qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,' sounds but commonplace. Turn the words into plain English, and we lose the point of an aphorism in our familiarity with the language and everyday ideas to which we are accustomed; while, quoted as they stand, they seem rather to enrich the graces of eloquence, or supplement its deficiencies, than successful in drawing attention to the philosophy that is embodied in one of those proverbial expressions, which have been happily described as the 'wisdom of many, and the wit of one.' 'The knowledge and power of man,' writes Lord Bacon, 'are coincident; for, whilst ignorant of causes, he can produce no effects.' True as this is in interpreting nature, and extending the empire of man over the creation, we fear that with regard to the subject upon which we are about to enter, our readers will be led to a conclusion that in the extension of political empire by man over his fellows, the most calamitous effects are produced by power, while we remain wilfully ignorant, or careless, of the causes that lie open to research.

We have put the foregoing as a preface to what we shall bring under consideration regarding the present position of affairs in China, of which we believe the cause to be as infelicitous as it is generally unknown or misunderstood. England is in death-dealing antagonism with the most populous, and yet the weakest and most unaggressive empire upon earth; and we are carrying bloodshed and devastation to the homes of millions of the human race, against whom neither has war been formally proclaimed, nor the constitutional sanction of our Parliament given for the expense and loss which it involves. For such a state of things there ought to be some reason as readily assignable as having to deal with the

the consequences of an earthquake, or to meet the sudden exigencies of a political convulsion, which the very existence of society requires to be suppressed with the stern promptitude of avenging justice. It is because we can find no such reason that we are induced to bring before our countrymen a simple narrative of events that have occurred in our intercourse with the Chinese; and in doing so, we must remind them that the limitation of our space obliges us to be, not only concise, but to condense the subject as much as is compatible with the clearness of the information we are desirous to impart.

It may seem strange that we should seek for the cause of the present war in the dusty records of the Parliaments of last century. In them, however, is to be discovered the germ of that mighty evil, which, bedewed with blood and tears, has expanded with frightful rapidity, cast its upas influence over the fairest portions of the East, poisoned with the deadly exhalations of the opium traffic the pure breezes which should have wafted the blessings of beneficial commerce from shore to shore, and made the name of Britain a byword and a reproach among all the nations of the earth.

In that period of our Indian history which the genius of Macaulay has so vividly brought before us in his remarkable Essays on the lives of Warren Hastings and Lord Clive, we can perceive the growing consolidation of the power we have hitherto wielded in the East, and the first transition from unprincipled, desultory aggression of rapacious traders, to the final assumption of all governing authority by the Ministers of the Crown. Step by step we have arrived at this consummation, until in A.D. 1858 the traditional prophecy of the native Indians has been fulfilled with at least oracular accuracy, and though not in the way that they imagined or desired, the Koompānee kā Rāj has passed away exactly at the period of its predicted century of duration after the battle of Plassey. A new rule is now to be inaugurated, for better or for worse, as the unrolling of the solemn future only can develop.

The first traces of the baneful opium monopoly are to be discovered in the annals of the year 1761, when the servants of the East India Company were not paid by adequate salaries, but obtained remuneration for the duties they performed, from the profits each derived by trading on his own account. When the Company obtained a grant of the Dewanee of Bengal from the sovereign of Delhi, the oppression which had been carried on under some faint possibility that natives might obtain redress from their own authorities, to whom appeal might legally, if not effectually be made, was hopelessly aggravated by the relentless rigidity of monopolies, established wherever there were European agents.

agents. In the Ninth Report from a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1783 are to be found references to the system which had previously prevailed; 'when,' in the words of the Report,—

> 'The servants, for themselves or their employers, monopolised every article of trade, foreign and domestic; not only the raw merchantable materials, but the manufactures; and not only these, but the necessaries of life; or what, in those countries, habit has confounded with them; not only silk, cotton, piece goods, opium, saltpetre, but not unfrequently, salt, tobacco, betel-nut, and the grain of most ordinary consumption.'

The acquisition of the Dewanee in 1765, having brought the East India Company into the immediate government of the country, extended and confirmed all the former means of monopoly; and we learn what were the consequences, from a letter addressed by the Court of Directors to the Council in Bengal, admonishing them that,—'It is with concern we see in every page of your consultations, *restrictions, limitations, prohibitions*, affecting various articles of trade;' while, on their part, the authorities in the Indian Presidency confess,—'that these monopolies of trade were the foundation of all the bloodshed, massacres, and confusions which have happened of late in Bengal.'

Our narrative will be given, as nearly as may be convenient, in the already written language of history: should our readers require more recondite evidence of the facts we adduce, we must refer them to the records of Parliament from the year 1757 onwards, which they will find to be a mine from which we can but present some extracts of its ore. During the time of the Moghul Emperors, the princes of that race, who omitted nothing for the encouragement of commerce in their dominions, bestowed large immunities and privileges on the East India Company, exempting them from several duties to which their natural-born subjects were liable. The Company's *dustuk*, or passport, secured to them this exemption at all the custom-houses in the country. The Company not being able, or not choosing to avail themselves of their privilege to its full extent, indulged their servants with a qualified use of the passport, under which, by themselves or in association with natives, the servants carried on a trade which afforded full compensation for the scanty means of living allowed by their masters in England. In the novel position in which the Company found itself by the grant of the Dewanee, and of which it understood neither the relations nor legitimate power, not only did the local government consider itself a privileged trader in other States, but its subordinates intruded their private adventures upon the territories of potentates, in the prosperity of whose countries or commerce they had neither interest nor duty. The first measures were simple evasions of the ancient subjection that was due to the authority of the Moghul Empire. In a short time the passport,

or

or *dustuk*, was used by the Company's servants without restraint, and their immunity covered all the merchandise they monopolised. A neighbouring nabob, named Cossim Ali Khan, bore the yoke of this imperious commerce with even greater impatience than the other native rulers. He saw his own subjects excluded as aliens from the profits of their own trade, and the revenues of the prince overwhelmed in the commercial ruin of his subjects. Finding remonstrance vain, he had recourse to a bold expedient; and, to place his own people on a footing with the foreigners who arrogantly usurped their rights, he abolished all duties and imposts throughout his territory. The government at Calcutta promptly denied the power of the prince thus to protect his subjects, and his fall was hastened by the just policy he had adopted.

While the servants of the Company were so arrogantly aggressive upon the rights of the people of India, they were equally unfaithful to the interests of their employers. Instead of providing investments required for the corporation of proprietors in England, all, from the members of council down to the lowest ranks of the service, were bent upon realising the largest profits from their iniquitous monopolies. The goods purchased by the servants were sent home in ships belonging to their masters, whose remonstrances were met by the not less bold than fallacious argument, that it was more for their advantage to dispose of the merchandise and be remunerated by a commission for doing so, than to incur the risks of a commerce which so rapidly enriched every one who engaged in it.

It was impossible for matters to continue in this course, and one of the wisest and best measures of Clive's chequered administration, was to put an end to the system of private trade, and initiate the better policy of paying public servants by salaries proportionate to the duties and responsibilities of their offices.

In the general suppression of monopolies, however, there was still a clinging to three which were particularly lucrative—those of opium, salt, and saltpetre. We will confine ourselves to the history of the first, which was not then retained for the purposes of the government in the way in which it is at present carried on. The authorities in India were prompt to yield a partial obedience to the orders sent from England, and at once proceeded to deprive all inferior officers and servants of their privileges of trade, while they appropriated to themselves the monopoly of opium, and divided the profits accruing therefrom as a compensation for losses alleged to have been sustained by members of council and others of the highest officials in the assignment of salaries. The pecuniary advantages derivable from the monopoly, whether by contracts or agencies, were made over to different parties, according to the prevailing influences in the Calcutta Council, until corruption reached its climax

climax when Warren Hastings gave a contract for supplying opium to Mr. Sullivan, the son of the Chairman of the Court of Directors, on terms and under circumstances that were considered to be too bad even in those days of extreme badness.

In the same year (1773) that the Court of Directors ordered the opium monopoly to be assumed by the Indian government, they wrote,—

'We wish we could refute the observation, that almost every attempt made by us and our administrators at your presidency for the reforming of abuses, has rather increased them and added to the miseries of the people we are anxious to protect and cherish. Instituted as chiefs and supervisors have been to give relief to tenants, to improve and enlarge our investments, to destroy monopolies, and retrench expenses, the end has been by no means answerable to the institution. Are not the tenants more than ever oppressed and wretched? Has not the raw silk and cocoons been raised upon us 50 per cent. in price? We can hardly say what has not been made a monopoly.'

There seems to be an apparent inconsistency here between acts and words, and the records according to which we are writing, show that there was wide difference of opinion among the members of the Calcutta Council. Warren Hastings, though opposed to private monopolies, argued warmly for keeping that of opium; and Sir Philip Francis, the reputed author of the letters of Junius, recorded an opposing view of the subject in the following words, extracted from an elaborate State paper written by him on the Revenue of Bengal:

'With respect to the revenues which the Government should derive from the manufacture of salt and opium, I declare my opinion that it ought to be by way of duties only. The ancient Government was content with such a duty. The object of the institutions of the present Government, and of all the Company's instructions to us is, to destroy all monopolies. All these orders show that salt was to be left as free and unburthened as possible. Their object was the ease and convenience of the natives. On the subject of opium we have received yet no instructions. The monopoly of this article is highly prejudicial to the foreign trade of Bengal, nor have we a right to consider the whole revenue arising from it as a clear gain to the Company, since it is beyond all doubt that the landed revenue suffers by Government engrossing the produce of the lands.'

In 1775 this monopoly was the subject of much discussion in the Calcutta Council. As our object is to expose the conduct of Great Britain towards China with regard to it, and the deep injury that has been inflicted on ourselves, we will merely observe that every false and fallacious sophistry brought forward delusively in the present day, was argued upon, refuted, replied to, readduced, and met with rejoinders and surrejoinders, as vigorously in the last century as in this. The questions of the flow of specie to the East, of balances of trade, of exports and imports, were reasoned upon then as they are now. The result was the same as in our day; the unscrupulous energy of the few who are deeply interested in opium-smuggling, was exerted to deceive the many who were more honest and credulous. Every principle of political economy was violated to extract a precarious

precarious revenue in India by means which must eventually destroy a nation's wealth; the manufacturers and merchants of this country seem determined not to perceive that the opium traffic flourishes at their expense, and that Patnah, Malwah, and Benares, beat Manchester, Sheffield, Glasgow, and Belfast out of the Chinese markets, while we make war with, and destroy our Chinese customers, simply because they are wiser, and, in this respect, better than ourselves. Leaving the sad history of injury and oppression inflicted upon opium-growing ryuts in India, we learn, from the previously quoted Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, that the Council in Bengal commenced the contraband traffic with China, in violation of international law, under the protection of an armed ship, and carried it on without the advice or suggestion of the British factory at Canton, and without the approbation of the Board of Trade at Calcutta. The Report shows, moreover, that in order to embark in this trade, the Company borrowed 200,000*l.* at a high rate of interest, and allotted portions of the debt to some of their servants. To quote the exact words, 'it appears, a mere trading speculation of the Council, invading the department of others, without lights of its own, without authority or information from any other quarter. In a commercial view, it straitened the Company's investments. As a measure of finance, it is a contrivance, by which a monopoly, formed for the increase of revenue, instead of becoming one of its resources, involves the treasury, in the first instance, in a debt of two hundred thousand pounds.'

From the same authentic source, we learn that at the time the Government engrossed the monopoly, the produce of opium did not exceed 2,500 chests. The only trade carried on with China in the drug was principally conducted by Portuguese merchants on the Bombay side, who imported it from Turkey, and landed it in Canton, where it was received at the custom-house as a medicine liable to a duty of about 13*s.* on 100 lbs. The quantity thus honestly imported annually into Canton was 200 chests, each weighing about 133 lbs.

No sooner had the Government of India resolved to carry on the contraband aggression against Canton, than there was a rush of competition for vessels to be engaged in the service. Colonel Watson, the chief engineer, and closely connected with the Council, urged successfully the offer of his ship, the 'Nonsuch,' to carry thirty-two guns, and be well armed and manned for the purpose. A Mr. Thornhill obtained the engagement of the 'Betsy,' on similar terms, and thus the buccaneering began. But with the importation, it was necessary to create among the Chinese a market to make it profitable; and we find the singular fact in the history of the world, that a nation professing the

holiest religion and purest morality upon earth, absolutely introduced a vice before unknown, in order that an otherwise unsaleable drug should find a price in Canton. We have the authority of Sir George Staunton and of opium agents, that the drug, as used by the Chinese smokers, is, after its peculiar process of manufacture, different from that which is so valuable in our pharmacopœia, and entirely deleterious. It is no longer a medicine, but more intensely a poison.

The next step taken by the East India Company was to diminish the difficulty attendant upon the sale of the contraband drug in small quantities and by dangerous opportunities. Orders were given to establish a large ship at Whampoa, the anchorage for the port of Canton, as a depôt for opium, from whence the native smugglers, who undertook all the risk of landing and running the article, could obtain it in such ways and at such times as suited their desperate hazards. The natural effects of this unparalleled conduct by a professedly friendly power, were soon apparent to the Chinese authorities. Vice produced crime, and crime misery. The beneficial course of commerce was disturbed by the introduction of what was only destructive of the industrial habits and morality of the people. Instead of exports being exchanged for useful manufactures, or paid for in dollars, the means of purchasing British goods were absorbed by indulgence in a vice that was ruinous to its victims, and the country was drained of its circulating specie, which the smuggler carried away instead of the more cumbrous teas, silks, and merchandise that could not be embarked without discovery by the mandarins. Thus trade was injuriously affected by the introduction of a non-reciprocating element. The importation of hardware, woollens, calicoes, &c., tended to the social and moral good of the largest population upon earth; and in proportion as the Chinese benefited by them, they were enabled to produce more abundantly and cheaply tea, sugar, rice, and silk, for our consumption. Every lawful import and export was profitable to both nations. Opium, however, was not only entirely unreproductive, but as its inevitable effect was to destroy life ultimately, and to impoverish and debase it during the shortened period of its existence, every chest that was landed represented, not only an incalculable amount of evil, but the value of British goods which it prevented the people from buying. It was first to be smuggled, then smoked. It was gone with the death-hastening delirium of its victim, who staggered forth impoverished to have again recourse to a fascination from which few, *very very few*, have been able to emancipate themselves. Delightful as is the shortly-enjoyed intoxication of opium-smoking, the most reckless drunkards, the most licentious sensualists of our own countrymen, have been appalled by its consequences. They have dreaded to indulge

indulge in what they know to be a suicidal vice, while, with a selfishness that finds no parallel outside the slave trade, they have, in cold-blooded unfeeling covetousness, dealt in lingering deaths, and sold widowhood, orphanage, ruin; the incentives to robbery, fraud, piracy, murder, misery, and crime, for ready money down, with an open balance to be settled hereafter when the great day of God's account with all men shall arrive.

The Chinese were not slow to perceive the baneful effects upon trade and morality that arose from the establishment of opium depôts in armed vessels, first at Whampao, afterwards at Macao, and they adopted measures which removed the receiving ships. At first the smuggling had been insinuated under the ordinary guise of a fraudulent evasion of custom-house dues, but the connection of the East India Company with the systematised contrabandism soon invested the traffic with national importance, and involved with it the intricacies of diplomacy, which became more embarrassing, as justice and reason were entirely on the side of the Chinese. The depôt ships, driven from positions corresponding to Sheerness and Gravesend on the Thames, took up anchorages, which have ever since been obtained at Lin-tin, at the mouth of the Canton river. The first losses might have discouraged ordinary contrabandists; but a Government that could raise a loan of 200,000*l.* for their adventure, embark it on vessels armed from their own arsenals, and manned to resist any attempt that the unwarlike Chinese might make in defence of their laws and rights, was not likely to be turned aside from a purpose which, with an evil sagacity, they saw might be made lucrative. The policy of the East India Company was recast and moulded to circumstances. The most rigid monopoly was established in India, guarded by a code of opium laws which had no parallel, except in those of the Inquisition. We say *had* no parallel; for though still very stringent and severe, we are happy to say that, since their nature was exposed in a pamphlet written by Major-General Alexander* in 1856, the Court of Directors caught an alarm, and sent out such orders, that in 1857 a new code has been promulgated, from which every section quoted in the General's work has been omitted, and other alterations made in favour of the ryuts. The Company having secured their monopoly, brought their opium down to Calcutta, where it was sold at public auction for exportation to China, and there, so far as diplomacy was concerned, the Government connection with the traffic was said to cease. Instead of members of Council having vessels freighted for the trade, every captain and officer of the East India Company's naval service was forbidden, under severe penalties, to take even the smallest quantity of opium to China in

* 'Rise and Progress of British Opium Smuggling,' pp. 4 to 9.

their vessels; while private traders were bound, under as stringent obligations, not to carry any other opium than that manufactured by the Company for the Chinese market, and prepared expressly and avowedly, in quality and packages of quantity, for the purpose of being smuggled. When the Chinese remonstrated with the British representatives, the dishonest answer, always ready, was that the Government did not carry on the trade, and that our laws did not authorise the punishment of our people for a breach of the regulations of a foreign custom-house; the unwarlike Chinese must guard their own coasts against our heavy-armed and powerfully-manned contrabandists.

The course adopted by the Chinese was simple and honest, as became a friendly people. They made laws and issued edicts forbidding their own subjects to trade in opium or to smoke the drug. They remonstrated with our authorities; and, pointing to the desperate acts of both Chinese and English smugglers, to the bloodshed and murders that were of continual occurrence, to the piracy that was growing out of the habits of men who exchanged the peaceful duties of life for the reckless licence of daring contrabandism, they entreated us over and over again to put a stop to opium smuggling, to trade with them on fair and honourable terms, and as they made laws against the traffic, and punished their subjects for engaging in it, appealed to us to do the same, and to establish tribunals at Canton for the adjudication of our own people. It will scarcely be credited, but it was not till after the opium war of 1841-2, that there was any tribunal for the English community in China before which a British criminal could be arraigned. The Chinese were told, and our people were told, that they were amenable, and must submit to Chinese law. Lord Palmerston, in later days, reiterated the same language in the plainest terms, and warned our countrymen that they were not to expect the protection of our Government if they were detected in opium smuggling. The Chinese were informed that they might seize the vessels and punish the culprits. But the cautious authorities of the empire declined the proffered authority over our bad characters. They replied, with the utmost sincerity, that they were ignorant of our laws and customs, and did not consider it just to hold our subjects liable to judgment by Chinese rules, with which the English were unacquainted. They quoted our own professions of good faith, and were so willing to abide by them, that they proposed that if the English would but establish a court, they would make every Chinese subject who had transactions with us amenable to it; and when sums of money were in dispute, Chinese respondents should lodge the amount claimed in the British court to await the British decision upon their cases. But nothing would do: the sheep might argue wisely; the

the wolf would hear no reason; he would both disturb the stream and devour his victim.

It has been shrewdly said that the tyranny of the king of Naples does not leave him to be the only happy man in his dominions. Neither have the tyranny in India, nor the falsehood and diplomacy in China, afforded the calm repose of financial confidence to the monopolists of opium. It has been from the beginning a *quæstio vexata;* the wisest statesmen and ablest financiers have always been opposed to the system, and foreseen the inevitable ruin in which it must end. So far back as the year 1777, General Clavering, a member of the Calcutta Council recorded this protest:—'I have always professed myself an enemy to this monopoly, as well as to that of salt. . . . I do only agree to giving it to Mr. M'Kenzie on two conditions: first, that the Company do not disagree to the continuance of the monopoly; secondly, that the Company's right to make this monopoly be not decided against them by the Supreme Court of Judicature within that time.'

In the year 1800 the East India Company's plans were matured. Their direct trade in opium ceased with the sales in Calcutta, and from that point the interests of the monopoly were confided to the smugglers, to secure whose impunity the most subtle refinements of the worst Machiavellian policy were evoked. It is remarkable that the opinions of every authority in China, from the time when England had its representatives in the superintendents of the East India Company's Factory until Sir John Bowring assumed office, have all been against the opium traffic as the cause of all our misunderstandings with the Chinese, and the disturbing element in all our commercial intercourse. They have fairly and openly depicted its evils, and called upon the authorities in this country to put an end to them by adopting more honourable measures. Second only to the wise and temperate arguments of the Chinese are the facts stated and practical suggestions offered by a long succession of men whose characters and judgments are entitled to the highest respect. We need but mention such as Mr. Marjoribanks, President of the Select Committee in Canton; Sir George Robinson, Sir John Davis, Captain Elliot, Her Majesty's Superintendent of Trade, who informed Lord Palmerston he could see little to choose between the opium trade and piracy; Sir George Staunton, Sir Stamford Raffles, Captain Shepperd and Mr. St. John Tucker, both Chairmen of the East India Company; Lord Broughton, President of the Board of Control; Mr. Montgomery Martin, who held high office in China; Lords Jocelyn and Shaftesbury; the Hon. A. Kinnaird, M.P.; the Bishop of Victoria; the Rev. Dr. Medhurst, and the missionaries of the various American and European Protestant Societies; Mons. Huc, the Count de Montalembert,

alembert, Messrs. Howard Malcolm, King, Dr. Parker, and many other distinguished Frenchmen and Americans. In short, with the exception of the few who derive large and ill-gotten gain from the traffic, we know not a Christian, a philanthropist, a fair trader, a political or commercial economist, nor a sound statesman or jurist, who has ever turned attention to the subject and has not denounced the opium monopoly and its consequences as that curse to mankind which deprives the slave trade of its sole and undisputed pre-eminence in iniquity.

We must leave a few facts for consideration. In 1800 the import of opium to Canton was 2,000 chests; in 1821, 7,000 chests; in 1824, 12,639 chests; in 1834, 21,785 chests; three years afterwards, 39,000 chests; and from 52,500 chests in 1848-9, it increased to 100,000 in 1856-7.

In 1839 the Chinese, having exhausted all their powers of remonstrance and persuasion, resolved that they would suppress the smuggling. They first addressed the most urgent requests to our authorities, entreating them to put an end to a trade which commenced with our Government, and ended in lawlessness and bloodshed. They pointed out the individuals engaged in it; told the quantity of opium each had in store; urged upon them that they should take it quietly away and continue the legal trade, which they, the Chinese, were only anxious to increase. They reminded us of all the outrages that had been committed by British subjects, whom we left without legal control or responsibility; of the courts which they had invited us to establish; of the risk of collisions between the mob of Canton and along the coast, whom our smuggling operations had been mainly instrumental in converting to pirates when opium dealing was slack. They reasoned that such a state of things must always endanger political and diplomatic relations; and their Commissioner Lin used the following words in his address to our countrymen: 'It is a traffic on which Heaven looks with disgust; and who is he that may oppose its will? If, then, your laws forbid it to be consumed by yourselves, and yet permit it to be sold that it may be consumed by others, this is not in conformity with the principles of doing unto others what you would they should do unto you.'

But all was in vain. Captain Elliot, who then represented the majesty of Britain and the integrity of our national character, reported faithfully to Lord Palmerston all that occurred, and the true state of affairs. We have not space to relate the vile trickeries that were ineffectually resorted to, to make a case of quarrel against the Chinese, and place them, if possible, in the wrong. Captain Elliot pointed out the anomalies of his own position; the misconduct of our lawless countrymen whom he had no authority to control; begged for consideration of the painful circumstances in which he

he was placed; and showed the opium traffic to be the cause of all. Lord Palmerston left him powerless, cautioned him against assuming criminal jurisdiction, and again consigned his fellow-countrymen to the Chinese tribunals in these words: 'No protection can be given to enable British subjects to violate the laws of the country to which they trade. Any loss, therefore, which such persons may suffer in consequence of the more effectual execution of Chinese laws on this subject must be borne by the parties who have brought the loss on themselves by their own acts.'

As the English would not take their opium away, nor stop the smuggling in of more—as they would neither make laws for themselves, nor obey those of China, the Chinese commissioner at length proceeded to carry his emperor's commands into execution. He gave in the names of the opium dealers, with an account of the number of chests in the possession of each. He said he did not wish to interfere with the business of any other merchant, and he required the opium to be given up for destruction. This request not being complied with, he carried out his threat of stopping all trade, and cutting off all supplies. Captain Elliot now unwisely stepped in, gave the smugglers a receipt for their opium as delivered up to the British Government, and then made it over to the commissioner, who destroyed the whole of it before witnesses, and sluiced it away into the sea.

For this we made our first opium war upon the Chinese, forced them to pay the smugglers for their contraband drug, and reimburse the majesty of Great Britain the expense incurred for destroying 30,000 men, besides women and children, and rendering their homes desolate by all the horrors of bloodshed, fire, and plunder.

In dictating the terms of peace upon payment, every attempt to obtain a legalisation of the opium trade, whether by persuasion or intimidation, completely failed. The dignified reply of the emperor will remain as an eternal reproach to our nation:—

'It is true,' said that heathen potentate, under the helplessness of defeat; 'it is true I cannot prevent the introduction of the flowing poison; gain-seeking and corrupt men will, for their own profit and sensuality, defeat my wishes; but nothing will induce me to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of my people.'

Hear this, O Christian Englishmen! whose Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the late Crimean war, laid a heavy duty upon sugar used for domestic purposes, but *allowed a drawback when it was carried to the brewery and distillery, to increase the revenue that is derived through pot-houses and gin-shops, from drunkenness and poverty, ending in the misery and vice of our people.*

Since 1842, the Chinese have made no attempt to prevent the smuggling for which they paid so severe a penalty. It is no longer necessary to bribe the mandarins, who allow opium to be landed

landed openly at the ports into which we are *bound by treaty* to prevent its entrance. The smugglers have often spread reports that the traffic was legalised because it is unresisted. Last year, the Chinese authorities at Shanghai, having imperial troops quartered upon them, for whom the impoverished treasury furnished no pay, seeing that the soldiers must either starve or plunder, adopted the expedient of levying a tax upon every chest of opium, in order to avert the danger of military anarchy and outrage. This was proclaimed by the smugglers to be a legalisation of the trade; but when the affair was known at Pekin, the emperor reiterated a proclamation of the law of death to every subject who shall import or smoke opium. Of course it is impotent; a mere *vox et preterea nihil;* but still it is consistent even in weakness.

If our readers will turn to Blue Books and Parliamentary Reports, they will find that we have been but compiling an article from their contents. We have felt the difficulty of selecting extracts from volumes full of information as important as we have adduced, and sorrow for the valuable matter we are obliged to leave untouched. We must, however, make brief allusion to passing events, and here we quote, in juxta-position, our treaty with China, and Sir John Bowring's evidence of the way we have observed it.

Extracts from the Supplementary Treaty between Her Majesty and the Emperor of China. Signed at Hoomun-chae, October 8th, 1843. Declared to be one of perpetual peace and friendship.

ARTICLE IV.

After the five ports of Canton, Foochow, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai shall be thrown open, English merchants shall be allowed to trade only at those five ports. Neither shall they repair to any other ports or places, nor will the Chinese people, at any other ports or places, be permitted to trade with them. If English merchant-vessels shall, in contravention of this agreement, and of a proclamation to the same purport, to be issued by the British Plenipotentiary, repair to any other ports or places, the Chinese Government officers shall be at liberty to seize and confiscate both vessels and cargoes; and should Chinese people be discovered clandestinely dealing with English merchants at any other ports or places, they shall be punished by the Chinese Government in such manner as the law may direct.

ARTICLE XII.

A fair and regular tariff of duties and other dues having now been established, it is to be hoped that the system of smuggling, which has heretofore been carried on between English and Chinese merchants—in many cases with

Extract relating to the Working of Ordinance No. 4, 1856—from the Colonial Treasurer's Memorandum of Estimates, 1857.

59. If anything has been and will be pre-eminently beneficial to this colony, it is that very system of granting Colonial Registers, particularly to respectable Chinese settled here; or, as the Ordinance says, 'Chinese Crown Lessees, entitled to hold Colonial Registers,' since it has already added to, and still tends to increase the coasting trade in goods, the manufacture of Great Britain, or the produce of India, such as cotton, *opium*, &c.; and on the other hand, brings to this colony more of the produce of China, for export to Europe and India, or transhipment to other parts of the coast of the empire.

Legal Opinion on the Legality of the Manufacture and Sale of Opium by the East India Company.

In the last session of Parliament, at the instance of the

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the open connivance and collusion of the Chinese custom-house officers—will entirely cease; and the most peremptory proclamation to all English merchants has been issued on this subject by the British Plenipotentiary, who will also instruct the different consuls to strictly watch over and carefully scrutinize the conduct of all persons, being British subjects, trading under his superintendence. In any positive instance of smuggling transactions coming to the consul's knowledge, he will instantly apprise the Chinese authorities of the fact, and they will proceed to seize and confiscate all goods, whatever their value or nature, that may have been so smuggled, and will also be at liberty, if they see fit, to prohibit the ship from which the smuggled goods were landed from trading further, and to send her away as soon as her accounts are adjusted and paid. The Chinese Government officers will, at the same time, adopt whatever measures they may think fit with regard to the Chinese merchants and custom-house officers who may be discovered to be concerned in smuggling.

PROCLAMATION OF SIR H. POTTINGER.

Extracts from Proclamation issued by Sir Henry Pottinger on the 22nd July, 1843.

Her Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiary, &c., trusts that the provisions of the Commercial Treaty will be found in practice mutually advantageous, beneficial, and just as regards the interests, the honour, and the future augmented prosperity of the Governments of the two mighty contracting empires and their subjects; and his Excellency most solemnly and urgently calls upon all subjects of the British Crown, individually and collectively, by their allegiance to their sovereign, by their duty to their country, by their own personal reputation, respect, and good name, and by the integrity and honesty which is due from them as men to the imperial rights of the Emperor of China, not only to strictly conform and act up to the

Earl of Shaftesbury, a legal opinion was taken by the East India Company on the question, 'Whether the legality of the manufacture and sale of opium by the East India Company, in the manner aforesaid, is in any way affected by the Supplemental Treaty entered into by Her Majesty with the Emperor of China in October 1843?' And the opinion given by the law officers of the Crown* on this point was in these words:—'We think, now that opium is made contraband by the law of China, and that its importation into China is made by Chinese law a capital crime, the continuance of the Company's practice of manufacturing and selling this opium in a form specially adapted to the Chinese trade, though not an actual and direct infringement of the Treaty, is yet at variance with its spirit and intention, and with the conduct due to the Chinese Government by that of Great Britain, as a friendly power, bound by a Treaty which implies that all smuggling into China will be discountenanced by Great Britain; and we think that if the practice in question were to be made the subject of expostulation by the Chinese Government, the British Government would be under an obligation to alter or modify the mode adopted by the East India Company of manufacturing opium, and to abstain from so manufacturing or preparing it as to involve a peculiar adaptation of the article to the Chinese

* This legal opinion, signed by Sir J. D. Harding, the Queen's Advocate-General, Sir R. Bethell, H.M. Attorney-General, Sir H. S. Keating, H.M. Solicitor-General, and Mr. Loftus Wigram, Standing Counsel for the East India Company, is given, not upon Lord Shaftesbury's question, but upon one prepared by the East India Company. His lordship's runs thus: 'Whether—having regard, also, to the supplemental treaty between Her Majesty and the Emperor of China, bearing date the 8th of October, 1843, which contains the following words: "A fair and regular tariff of duties and other dues having been established, it is hoped that the system of smuggling will entirely cease"—it is lawful for the East India Company to deal in such opium in the manner stated in the first question, with the full knowledge that it is so purchased at the abovementioned sales for the purpose of being smuggled into China in contravention of the laws of that empire, and so to cultivate and manufacture the same with a view principally to the China market, and to its being so purchased for such purposes as aforesaid, the Company with that view manufacturing the opium into that form which the Company consider best adapted to facilitate and promote that contraband trade.'

said

said provisions of the Commercial Treaty, but to spurn, decry, and make known to the world any base, unprincipled, and traitorous overtures which they or their agents or employés may receive from, or which may be in any shape made to them, by any subject of China, whether officially connected with the Government or not, towards entering into any collusion or scheme for the purpose of evading, or acting in contravention of the said provisions of the Commercial Treaty.

Her Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiary, &c., will not allow himself to anticipate or suppose that the appeal which he now makes to all Her Majesty's subjects will be unheeded or overlooked by even a single individual; but at the same time it is his duty, in the responsible and unprecedented situation in which he has been placed by the course of events, to distinctly intimate that he is *determined*, by every means at his disposal, to see the provisions of the Commercial Treaty fulfilled by all who choose to engage in future in commerce with China; and that in any case where he may receive well-grounded representations from Her Majesty's consuls, or from the Chinese authorities, that such provisions of the Commercial Treaty have been evaded (or have been attempted to be so), he will adopt the most stringent and decided measures against the offending parties; and where his present powers may not fully authorise and sanction such measures as may seem to him fitting, he will respectfully trust that the legislature of Great Britain will hold him indemnified for adopting them in an emergency directly compromising the national honour, dignity, and good faith in the estimation of the Government of China, and in the eyes of all other nations.

contraband trade, as distinguished from other trades, and to adhere to this modification so long as opium is absolutely prohibited in China.'

On the 6th of October, 1856, a Chinese vessel called a lorcha, and named, for European purposes, the 'Arrow,' was lying in the Canton river, manned by Chinese subjects, of whom one or more were known, or suspected to be, pirates. A foreigner had obtained from Sir John Bowring's Government at Hong Kong, one of the registers above alluded to, for the purposes therein specified, the said register having been granted for a year. Whether that register was a legal instrument in the hands of Englishman or foreigner, we will not stop to question; Lord Lyndhurst, in the House of Peers, and other eminent lawyers in the House of Commons, said that it was not. The Chinese do not appear to have disputed that; nor whether it conveyed authority for the English flag to cover the goods which the said lorcha was employed to smuggle; but anxious to avoid all disputes with us, they waited till eleven or twelve days after the date on which its immunity expired, and then sent their policemen to apprehend the culprits. It has been asserted that there was an English flag on board the vessel; possibly or probably there was; but we have the strongest evidence, short of that given legally upon oath, that none was flying, nor was there any person on board the lorcha but Chinese subjects.

In the course of the day this arrest became known to Consul Parkes, at the British Factory, who demanded the Chinese culprit and subjects to be given up to him. After some very reasonable, or to put it on the very lowest terms, plausible remonstrance, pointing out the Chinese view of the lawful bearing of the matter, Mr. Parkes' request was complied with, the Chinese were humiliated

miliated for their act, and the vice-regal Commissioner Yeh conformed to the dictation of an English agent, not of the highest diplomatic rank. It would have been well had this been sufficient; but Anglo-Chinese diplomacy demanded more; even that the commissioner, as representing his emperor, should apologise to as much of the majesty of our sovereign and nation as was impersonated in its consul. The refusal of this demand led to an attack upon Canton, which was retaliated by the destruction of our factories. Then followed on blockade, attacks, and the incidents of scarcity of food, and loss of life by war. A few of our smallest men-of-war, with some ships' boats, gained a glorious victory over the Chinese fleet of junks, armed with 900 guns, and manned by 9,000 men. We read of the boldness of our approach, and glowing eulogia upon the valour of our officers and men, and then felt some consolation in the thought that, with such a terrific enemy to assail, our whole loss amounted but to 84 killed and wounded; and that the foe, who had opposed to us the formidable resistance that was described, had inflicted less than at the rate of *one* wound with every ten cannons, throwing musketry and small arms out of all account. Neither on that occasion, nor in the more recent attack upon their million-peopled city, have the Chinese shown themselves to have the slightest knowledge of the art of war; and if they should have been superior in diplomacy, or happened to have justice on their side, the arguments of artillery and the conclusions often, but not always arrived at, *à coté des gros battalions*, have hitherto been entirely in our favour. Meanwhile, the talented correspondent of the 'Times' informs us that our trade is impeded, our establishments at other ports in danger, and that the result of all our wars and negociations is, that we succeeded, in 1854, in forcing upon the Chinese 24,000,000 dollars' worth of opium, and only obtained sale for 4,000,000 dollars' worth of British manufactures, although that gentleman states, that if they were not impoverished by the opium traffic, they are willing to take from us, in profitable commerce, any amount of goods we can export. All this was submitted to the consideration of our legislators, statesmen, and merchants, just at the very moment of that great monetary crisis which closed our factories, and threw our workmen out of employment, to the alternatives of starvation, beggary, or parish charity. When our commerce was paralysed, we were employing a navy to prevent our merchant ships from trading with Canton; when we were calling for reduction of our taxes, we were equipping an army to destroy the people who were waiting to buy our goods; and it is a remarkable event, in these remarkably eventful days, that when the first detachment of that army destined for the second opium war reached the intermediate port between the British and Chinese

Chinese empires, it was met by an urgent call to hasten and defend our yet unmassacred countrymen, women, and children, and to save the endangered supremacy of England, on the fields of those districts where the accursed opium is produced. We will not presume to link acts upon earth to the councils of heaven, nor dogmatically to pronounce upon cause and effect; but we believe that we may go so far as to say, that if these things are not indicative of a retributory connexion, they are at least very like it. We speak as to wise men, judge ye for yourselves.

As Lord Elgin's instructions are that he is to obtain, *by persuasion, of course*, a legalisation of the opium trade, we will, before that desideratum is accomplished or defeated, point to another embarrassment in which our Indian and home authorities are involved. In 1833 the East India Company was deprived of its Charter, and commanded by Parliament to cease from trading. The Act is explicit, that all accounts were to be closed, all ships and warehouses sold; officers were appointed to see that this should be carried out in the course of two years, and no buildings or depôts were to be retained except for the purposes, not of trade, but of Government. Still the East India Company audaciously reserved their opium and salt monopolies!!! In 1843 this was ineffectually brought before the House of Commons by Lord Ashley, who, in 1857, as Earl of Shaftesbury, again agitated the subject in the House of Lords by laying on the table two questions to be submitted to the judges for decision. In a false confidence of their position, the Ministers of the Crown acceded to Lord Shaftesbury's proposal, but were soon warned by the Lord Chancellor that if the decision of the judges should be to pronounce the opium traffic and our breach of treaty with the Chinese illegal, the President of the Board of Control, the Chairman of the Court of Directors, the Governor-General of India, and every authority engaged in the illicit contraband, would be amenable to criminal indictment. A strong appeal was made to Lord Shaftesbury, whether it was his desire to produce such consequences, and whether, as it was his object to have a great constitutional question settled, he would not accept the legal opinion of the law officers of the Crown, which would determine the merits of the case without involving the embarrassment that might ensue upon the verdict of the judges. In the debate that took place the Noble Lord stated, that in framing his questions his object was to shut the Government up to all the difficulties of the case; but as he had not contemplated such results as the Lord Chancellor set forth, he would be content to withdraw his motion on condition that the opinion of the law officers should be obtained. The Lord Chancellor promised that a legal case should be prepared for the purpose; but mark how it was done! Lord Shaftesbury's questions were sent

sent to the President of the Board of Control, who transmitted them to the India House. There they were put into the hands of the solicitors of the East India Company, who drew an *ex parte* case with their own recital of alleged facts and assumptions, which ended by substituting two other questions for those propounded by Lord Shaftesbury. Objection was taken to such a case, and it went back for amendment. As the session of Parliament was drawing to a close, after months of delay the second edition of the Company's solicitors' work was produced, which differed little from the first except in being more closely and cautiously worded; with it was coupled a proposal that the standing counsel of the East India Company, who has no official status, should be joined with the law officers of the Crown in framing an opinion on questions upon which he must have been previously consulted by his employers. Notwithstanding a remonstrance, the case went forward as proposed, and the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, assisted by Mr. Loftus Wigram, the counsel of the implicated East India Company, gave their opinion upon the questions substituted for Lord Shaftesbury's, which opinion was laid upon the table of the House of Lords just a few days before Parliament was prorogued, and when no more business could be entertained. Thus was monopoly respited for a season, and we may presume with a hope that before Parliament should re-assemble the question of breach of treaty would be settled by the Chinese being forcibly persuaded to legalise the opium trade.

So far as Lord Shaftesbury is concerned, the above extraordinary proceedings in the highest court of British legislature and honour are not so important as might at first be thought. His Lordship's avowed object was to know whether he was legally right or wrong in the views he had taken; and he solemnly pledged himself that if, by any possible construing of the technicalities of an Act of Parliament, a claim to monopoly of opium can be sustained by a British Company having no charter to trade, then he would introduce a Bill to render such monopoly illegal, and never cease to do so, session after session, if necessary, until so foul a privilege shall be exterminated. In his Lordship's high character we have full assurance that he will pursue his righteous object, and redeem the gage he has thrown down to war unto victory against one of the most formidable and detestable evils of our times, the reproach of Britain, the direst curse to more than one-third of the whole family of man.

Our readers may reasonably ask, Is not 'Meliora' making out an *ex parte* case? and must not what so many say be true, that the Chinese have overwhelmed us with insults which we have borne only too patiently? We dare not have written these pages without being prepared for such a question. We would not have risked

risked our character for justice and impartiality if we had not drawn our information from official and authentic sources, and we have given at the head of this article the authorities to which we appeal.

We fearlessly challenge an examination of the bitterly-denounced Commissioner Yeh's correspondence with the English authorities since the fatal day on which the Chinese culprits were taken out of the Chinese lorcha the 'Arrow;' and call consideration to the fact, that in 1849 Sir George Bonham had, on the part of his sovereign, agreed to waive that part of the treaty which stipulates for free access to the city of Canton. We merely speak here of Yeh as a diplomatist and statesman, and not with reference to what may yet be proved to have been his conduct to prisoners of war.

And now, in conclusion, what are we to do next in China? If we force our opium upon them, that will not avert the ruin which the monopoly must ultimately bring down upon India. If we go on slaughtering along the coasts, up the Yang-tsi-kiang, and bombard Pekin, that will not increase our trade, nor strengthen our political position. If we are right, we can well afford to be magnanimous: if we are wrong, we may find it wise to remember that these words are written where they must prove true:—

'For, behold, the Lord cometh out of his place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity; the earth also shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain.'

ART IV.—*The Commercial Crisis of* 1857*: its Causes and Results.* By Wm. Romaine Callender, Jun. London: Longman and Co.

WHEN continental kinglets and their courtiers taunt us as a nation of shopkeepers, our answer is ready, and our answer is good. Our system is more rational, more solid, more comfortable, and more honourable than all the military pomp of despotic governments. That which is sometimes thrown in our teeth as our shame, really constitutes our glory. If merchants are honest men, they need not be ashamed of being merchants. If our traffic were kept pure, it would be to the nation what the Nile is to Egypt, the main artery of its economic life. There is neither sin nor shame in making bargains, if the bargainers do not cheat.

At the present crisis it is peculiarly important to distinguish clearly between the sound and the unsound in our mercantile system. In our circumstances, the comprehensive rule of Scripture is eminently necessary and suitable: 'Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good.' On the one hand, we must not, through pride and prejudice, cling to evil habits because they are our own: on the other hand, we must not, by the sneers of adversaries

saries, be driven from principles or practices that are right. It cannot be denied, that the rank fresh growth of the nation's commerce has attracted some vile worms to its root. We must uncover and destroy the vermin, but cherish the noble plant on which they feed.

The reader, if he is pleased to accompany us through this paper, will find some plain-speaking but no croaking. The writer loves his country with a fervent love, and specially exults in her pre-eminent commerce. He has travelled a little in several foreign countries, and has always been pleased to be recognised by his look, as well as by his language, as a denizen of this much-envied isle. Although by profession he is only a spectator of the busy scene, he is one in spirit as in destiny with his brethren who strip and strive, like ancient athletes, on a more spacious stadium, and for a nobler prize. We love merchants; and love them so well, that we shall proceed incontinent to tell them some of their faults. If they take the reproof as frankly as it is given, they will find it an excellent oil which will not break their heads.

As our object is intensely practical, we shall endeavour to place before our readers in relief some of the more important causes and forms of the disease, and afterwards throw out some suggestions regarding the remedy. For a succinct yet comprehensive history of the crisis, written in a manly style, and pervaded by a healthful moral sentiment, we refer to the pamphlet whose title is prefixed to this paper. We shall assume that the principal features of the gloomy period are still fresh upon the reader's memory, and shall not burden our page with details and figures.

The commercial crisis through which the country has just passed, or is still passing, seems greater than any that we have heretofore experienced, as to the number of bankruptcies, the magnitude of the amounts involved, and the moral delinquencies brought to light. Some portion of this last count, however, if not the whole, is due to the improved machinery which we possess for the detection and exposure of dishonesty.

The *forms* of the evil, and its *immediate causes*, are various and easily observed. At the very outset of the disastrous course lies the morbid eagerness of each to be his own master, while circumstances demand that he should still be the servant of another. To be no longer a working man, earning wages, but a merchant or manufacturer on his own account, is the ambition that fires the heart of our youth. It is, in itself, an innocent and honourable aspiration. As long as it is under subjection to the law of righteousness, it is not only harmless, but eminently conducive to both individual and national prosperity. It is the vital force that makes the machinery go round; and as long as it is regulated by the solid, steady, massive balance-wheel, its operation produces only

only good; but when, weary of restraint, it snaps asunder the belt which bound it to the balancer, and spins round at will without impediment, it speedily shatters the machine to atoms, and perishes itself in the débris. In a former generation, the indulgence of this tendency to an almost unlimited extent produced no mischief, because, although many were masters, the servants of each were few. Each man was contented with a very diminutive business. The emancipation of one man did not involve the thraldom of hundreds. In our grandfathers' days, you and I might both have been chiefs, although our own roof sheltered all our subjects. Now, it is scarcely possible to be a small merchant. The competitory spirit has spurred science on, and science has served the competitory spirit, until profits, unless they are drawn from a very wide surface, cannot be drawn at all. In providing a supply of water for a large city, if you have access to a great lake, a draught from its depth, not greater than the thickness of cream on a basin of milk, will serve your purpose, as well as many fathoms of a smaller reservoir. This principle has been discovered in merchandise, and driven to a fatal excess.

The next step in the process is, when a man, prevented by the physical conditions of his time from becoming a small merchant, is nevertheless determined to be a merchant, and in absence of cash, extends his operations on credit. Having no foundation on the rock, and being determined to build, he rears his edifice on sand, taking care to shovel in the earth about the roots of his wall, in order to hide the falsehood from his neighbours. Here lies the chief vice of our system. A man extends his business until it touches all the corners of the earth, and involves many hundred thousand pounds. His profits are great if he succeed; his losses great, if he fail: but he has no money of his own: therefore, if he gain, the gain is his; if he lose, the loss falls on his neighbour. And this discreditable thimblerigging is not an exception confined to a few desperadoes, it constitutes a very large proportion of the actual aggregate of trade. In the multitude of the speculators, and the fast methods of their life, each man grows giddy and reckless of results. Accustomed to hard driving and narrow escapes, they dash along, like London cabmen, taking a positive pleasure in grazing the precipice, and flourishing the whip as the danger passes, with a leer and a boast that 'an inch is as good as an ell." But if, at the next turn, the whole concern is upset, the driver trusts that he will leap off in time, and keep at least his own skin whole. It is a heartless system. There is no brotherly love in it. It is loathsomely selfish; and it has become so common, that it has ceased to be wonderful.

An unfailing concomitant of the malady is an extravagantly expensive style of living. One man keeps an establishment of eighteen

eighteen servants; another must have his table-napkins made of rich flowered silk; a third maintains, simultaneously, three mansions, two for himself, being town and country residences, and one for a 'friend,' whose name cannot be told. We have given at random some cases that were brought to light in a single city during the past winter. None of these men possessed a penny of their own in the world. They knew quite well that they had nothing wherewith to pay for these luxuries, for they were rogues, not fools. They obtained credit from the banks, and the money so received enabled them to set up establishments which seemed evidence of wealth. In this way retail dealers were deceived; and thinking their shops honoured when the dog-cart and the flunkey halted at the door with an order, gave out goods without limitation, and fell in the crash that followed.

The community are mysteriously bound together. We have all an interest in maintaining the channels of commerce pure. Dishonest dealings by one set of merchants render it impossible for another and better set to transact any business at all. In one city two concerns of fabulous magnitude had grown up in the sewed muslin manufacture. For several years, honest men, with abundant means in the same department of trade, had been brought to a dead lock. They could do nothing. In order to prevent loss, they stood idle; while the trade flowed towards their overgrown neighbours like a mighty river. It is known now that these gigantic manufactures had been carried on at a loss. Money to the extent of half a million had been drawn from a bank by swindling or collusion, to keep the surface of the cheat whole a while. The bank which gave the money has fallen, and many thousands have been crushed in its fall. Honest men could not trade at all on their own money; because they were undersold by dishonest men, who squandered the money of the community.

Perhaps the bitterest bit of all is the impudent bearing of the criminals after the catastrophe. When they have by wholesale dishonesty ruined many families, they seem suddenly to become mightier men than ever they were. We give a case which we personally know. A young mother, who was reared in the most affluent class of a first-rate city, is travelling by railway with her own infant in her arms, and without an attendant. At a certain station a fine equipage drives up, a gentleman steps out, and, through ranks of well-dressed, obsequious servants, enters the same carriage. The lady could not guess what great personage was in her presence. When her husband met her at the terminus a nod of recognition passed between him and the great man, and the young wife's curiosity was for the first time satisfied. Her husband had, with many others, during the dreary winter been checked in a career of honourable industry by large losses in

trade, and this was the magnate whose bankruptcy had brought him down. Her delicate hands were plied to menial work, because she had not the means of hiring servants; and the man who deprived her of her means drove past her in his carriage, with a flunkey perched behind. These are the things that gnaw the very heart of the community. Unless private virtue and public justice united succeed in putting down overgrown impudent dishonesty, the ascendancy of the nation cannot long be maintained. These things are morally as bad in one direction as the cruelties which prevail under despots are in another. We need not point the finger of scorn at Naples; injustice equally great, though of a different kind and from a different quarter, is inflicted and endured amongst ourselves.

The *effects* of these oppressions are disastrous to both the material and the moral interests of the people. Many thousands of the feeble are now pining in poverty, who six months ago possessed the means of living in comfort all their days. Some have been driven to labour at a period of life when it was their right to rest; and not a few have been by the calamity hurried off to a resting-place in the grave. Let the rash and dishonest speculators know that the guilt of many murders lies on their heads. The collapse of a joint-stock bank, especially, scatters distress over a very extensive area, and sends the thrill of its deadly stroke down through every rank. The fruits of these gigantic bankruptcies are ripening and dropping one by one even now. Yesterday the magistrate of a remote country town was followed to the grave by a large circle of sorrowing friends; and the well-known fact passes in a whisper through the sad procession, that, having lost three-fourths of his means by the annihilation of his bank shares, the remaining fourth was demanded as a "call" upon the proprietors. This last blow, falling on the shattered frame, completed the work, and the victim fell. To-day, once and again, a rustling is heard among the leaves, and a heavy plunge succeeds. You ask the agitated bystanders what fruit has fallen this time. They answer, here a widow lady has left her beautiful mansion, and been immured within the grated doors of a madhouse; there, a rustic, who had saved a few hundred pounds and lost it, has taken his own life. Such fruits as these are dropping fast all over the country while we write—apples of Sodom, the cursed offspring of the haste to be rich, which gendered in the hearts of dishonest, selfish men. Let the spectators take warning. Fear, and sin not. Will this bitter experience be lost? God and men expect that in the coming years we shall learn wisdom from the errors and falsehoods and misfortunes of our day.

There is a species of crane which may be seen flinging its giant arms up into the sky at the side of every considerable building while it

it is in the process of erection. It has caused a revolution in the method of constructing houses, especially where heavy stones are employed. The greater the reach of its brawny arm, the greater is the convenience to the builder; but the longer that the lever is made, the stronger must be the chain which supports it. Suppose a builder has been using a crane with a horizontal stretch of twenty feet, and a chain sufficient to bear it; but, being greedy of gain, he doubles the horizontal length of the beam, without increasing the strength of the chain. When the strain of the stone's weight is applied at the extremity of the lengthened lever, the feeble chain gives way, and some workmen are killed or maimed by the accident. The builder is brought to the bar, and convicted of culpable carelessness. He is compelled to pay for the support of wounded men or bereaved widows.

This crime is committed on a large scale by great merchants and bankers. They lengthen their lever in order to pick up gains from a wider surface, while their supporting capital, instead of being greater, is, perhaps, much worse of the wear. When you make these immense reaches over the world with your slender capital, or no capital at all, you run imminent risks of breaking the whole machine; and when it breaks, hundreds will be hurt by it, while you, the real author of the evil, sit at home in safety.

For a long period, and in a very great measure, the practical rule amongst us has been that the great swindlers escape and the small ones are caught and put in prison. The net which poor blind Justice spreads over the robbers' den seems to be constructed on a principle precisely the reverse of that which regulates other nets—the big fishes get through, and the little ones are taken. Of late some slight efforts have been put forth to remove this anomaly, and some symptoms of advancement begin to appear. Now and then, with much ado and at great expense, some of the great criminals are caught and punished with edifying impartiality. So strange and new are these events, that people can scarcely believe their own eyes when they read the record. We hail these instances of impartial justice with hopefulness; but we stand amazed that greater things have not been at an earlier period achieved. We hope the best from what has happened; but we do not think that the work is finished yet. Something has been done, and something further may yet be done by impartial legislation and a vigorous execution of the law; but it is not our purpose at present to enter upon that department of the subject. Our immediate object is to generate and consolidate such a sound public opinion upon the morals of business as will afford a sure foundation for future progress both in the legislative and executive departments. One swallow does not make a summer: we must not throw up our caps, and proclaim the jubilee of justice, because the direc-

tors of the British Bank have been compelled to taste the cup which smaller rogues drink to the dregs. It is not such a puny conjuring that can stay the plague: we need a public opinion, wide, and deep, and pure, and all-pervading, like the air of heaven, against falsehood of every form and in every place.

We have suggested some of the *immediate* causes of our commercial unhealthfulness: we direct attention now to the *remote* cause, which lies several strata beneath the surface. The cause of our backwardness in the morals of trade is the same that accounts for our low attainments in spiritual religion—the want or the weakness of FAITH. In business most men walk not by faith but by sight, and short sight too. The merchant who hires milliners' and haberdashers' assistants to adhibit their names to bills, in order that he may pass off the signatures at his bank as those of monied men, would not steal goods from his neighbour's counter. Why? Not because the act is dishonest, but because it would be found out. In matters of petty theft, men believe in righteous retribution, because they see it; but in the secret tricks of trade they do not see punishment instantly following the crime, and they hope it will never come. When vengeance is not within sight, they have no faith to behold it under a vail. They have not faith in truth and righteousness and law. They have not faith in Providence—in God.

You will not bend over an open cask of gunpowder, and drop fiery sparks into the bunghole; and you know the reason why. Neither would you cast poppy seed or peppel into your field among the wheat in spring: in this case, too, you know the reason why. Retribution by law will certainly follow, in the first case instantly, in the second after the lapse of some months. You have faith in these physical laws, even although a long delay intervene between the cause and its effect. But in the moral department, the working of the law is more deeply covered, and your faith will not reach so far. In the interstices of your bargain, you drop here a lie and there a cheat; and because the explosion does not come so soon as in the case of the gunpowder, you flatter yourself that its coming is not so sure. You flatter yourself indeed. The moral laws are as stern as the physical, although not so palpable to the senses. The connecting wire between sin and punishment is longer and more circuitous in the moral department; but it conducts the avenging fire with unfailing precision to the victim's head.

The methods which are acknowledged and adopted in practical physics are denied or ignored in practical ethics. An astronomer or a chemist will not omit a figure in his arithmetic, or a sign in his algebraic formula, in order to lighten his labour and round off his calculation. He will not knowingly introduce a lie into the heart of his process. The injection of a falsehood, or the omission of

of a truth, however secretly, in any part of the process, he knows would vitiate the whole. He acts on this principle, and acts uniformly on it. The mistakes which occur from time to time in his deductions are errors into which he has inadvertently fallen, not lies which he has deliberately made.

The same rule does not hold good in matters of commerce. A very considerable number of those engaged in it intentionally and deliberately deviate from truth and righteousness in their transactions, with the view of promoting thereby their own interests. No natural philosopher of any standing, either in his own esteem or that of his fellows, intentionally deviates by a hair's-breadth from truth, while conducting the processes of his philosophy: but there are merchants not a few, with a good standing in their own eyes and in the world, who do intentionally deviate from truth in the processes of their business.

Such is the difference of practice in regard to truth which obtains in these two departments of human action: the reason of it may be discovered without danger of mistake, and expressed without danger of misapprehension.

It is in human nature to dread a punishment near, more than one at a distance. If to distance of time there be added indefiniteness of period, the terror of the infliction is still farther diminished. When a child is learning his lesson in the evening, dread of the master's displeasure on the morrow is a much more potent motive than dread of meeting the world fifteen years afterwards with an imperfect education. A fraudulent teller in a bank would not pocket a hundred pounds if it were sure as the laws of nature that the manager would know the fact next day; but he has the means of doubling and hiding in the columns of his ledger, so as to postpone for a year, and perhaps longer, the discovery of the fraud. It is this that emboldens the dishonest man to do the dishonest deed. Given two men of moral principle equally frail, and placed under temptation equally potent; but in one case the sin is such that, if committed, it will soon and certainly be discovered; and in the other case, such that, although committed, the discovery will certainly be delayed for months, and possibly never made at all: it is probable the first will do an honest act, and the second a dishonest one; and yet they may be both alike dishonest men.

Such is the difference between the philosopher and the merchant as regards the tendency to deceit. In the pursuits of philosophy it is certainly known that judgment against an evil work will be executed speedily; but a violation of truth in the transactions of commerce does not so soon and so evidently bring punishment upon the transgressor. We smile at the celebrated Spartan law which permitted stealing if the thief did his work cleverly

cleverly; but punished it if he stole clumsily and allowed himself to be caught in the fact: but this is the very law which many men make for themselves. They allow themselves the liberty of making false representations, if circumstances seem to afford sufficient cover for the cheat. In the laws of nature retribution for these offences does not come instantly, and men hope that it will not come at all. But retribution will follow these transgressions as certainly as other sequences in nature. The moral region into which they are admitted is not beyond the jurisdiction of God. He is everywhere present, resenting and repressing the violation of his own laws. As the ripple generated along the centre takes a longer time to reach the shore at the wider portions of the lake, the consequences of violating law in one department take a longer time to reach the human agent, than they do in another; but he that doeth evil shall receive a due reward, for there is no respect of persons with nature or with God. When a dew-drop is exhaled by the sun, the water which composed it is not lost. It is all kept; and it will be gathered and used again in time and place convenient. When it vanishes from our sight in air, it remains in the hands of the living God, and subject to inexorable law. A lie in bargain-making seems to go out of sight as completely, but it is kept as surely in the moral atmosphere, and will cast up again when it is least expected, but most needed, to inflict the vengeance-stroke.

Such is the law: but faith in law, and in retributions that lie far in the future, is not, among the multitude, of sufficient power to control passion and direct the life. Faith, in order to be efficient, must attach itself to the personal and the present. You may indeed get hold of an evil-doer by his understanding, but it is like seizing a horse by the shoulders: you have not a good purchase upon him to control his waywardness. If you can grasp him by the conscience, you have got a bit in his mouth, and the bridle in your hand,—you can turn him whithersoever you will. The sum of the whole matter lies here:—it is not reason's respect for natural laws, but dread of displeasing God in the heart of a moral being, that will tell with effect on the intercourse of men. It is not a philosopher's calculation of what is the greatest good, but a Christian's consciousness of right and wrong that will avail to reduce the dislocations of the mercantile machine. We must fall back on the old rule, 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.' A tender conscience, with the Bible for its law and God as its judge—this is the one sovereign preventive of these terrible epidemics which periodically devastate the domain of trade.

While the chief guilt of abounding fraud lies on the actual perpetrators, a part of it belongs also to that large portion of the community who enjoy, and on the whole deserve, the reputation of

of honesty. If a sounder public opinion prevailed on the method of conducting commerce, it would not be in the power of a few reckless depredators to prey upon the life of society. If certain principles were acknowledged, and certain habits adopted by the mercantile classes, a compact coat of mail would encompass the body, and the proboscis of the greedy spoiler could neither find nor make an opening. Honest men must league together and exclude utterly certain methods now current, which afford facilities to those who seek them for perpetrating and concealing crime. There are certain kinds of bills manufactured in a particular way, and bearing a specific name, which honest men do not need, and which afford capital cover for thieves and robbers. Sweep them out of the domain of commerce as you would cut down the trees and brushwood that surround your fort, when a numerous and unscrupulous enemy is hovering in the neighbourhood. Much may be done by honest men to make it more difficult for dishonest men to drive their trade.

Again, merchants who are conscious of right intentions should jealously watch, not only their roguish neighbours, but also themselves. There is a strange proclivity in human nature to lean over to the side on which self-interest lies. The law of the Great Teacher, if rigidly applied, would keep all the marches clear: 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.' A high wall between him and the shining apples may powerfully contribute to make the urchin honest; but there is no impassable wall confining a merchant, whether he will or not, within the limits of truth and righteousness. A line is stretched along to mark the border; but if he press, it will yield. A mason builds his wall by such a slender line. He could press it aside, and make it bend in the middle, and get his stones laid beyond the plumb; but he does not so press it aside, for if he did, his wall would tumble, and his labour would be lost. A merchant, however, is always liable to the temptation to push the line of righteousness aside a little, and to hope that the wall will stand as long as he is near it. 'He that trusteth in his own heart is a fool.' Suspect it, and test it by changing places with your neighbour, and considering whether the change of place would change your conduct.

Do not permit riches, or the appearance of riches, to cover a multitude of sins, in the regulation of your intercourse with society. If the man with the gold ring and goodly apparel is admitted to high places in your assemblies, sacred and social, in church or drawing-room, although he has cheated his neighbours and oppressed the poor, you flatter vice and court retribution. Men speak of courage in politics and in war! Courage in social intercourse is much more rare—courage practically to count 'a poor man better than a liar.'

Not

Not as a substitute for a sound public opinion in practical morality, but as an instrument which that opinion may effectually wield, let laws be made and executed which shall make the high position and large transactions of the criminal, not an alleviation but an aggravation of his crime. The comparative impunity with which large frauds are still committed exercises a disastrous influence on the morals of those who are young in years and subordinate in position. We know a young man, lying at this moment in a narrow prison cell, who had been morally and religiously trained by worthy parents, and who never before was charged with any vice. He has been detected in the act of taking the accommodation of a hundred pounds or so, that belonged to his employers. He says, and we believe with truth, that while much was passing through his hands, he only took the loan of a small portion, intending to repay it in due time. His conduct was wrong. It was a sin in God's sight, and a crime against society. His punishment is just. But he knows full well that many are this day sauntering in the Exchange, and returning to their elegant houses, who have notoriously committed the same crime, the only difference being that in their case the appropriation was vastly greater in amount. We do not adduce these facts to support a plea either for setting the smaller culprit free, or for vindictively incarcerating the greater. But we say deliberately and earnestly to the trading community of Britain, that as long as these glaring partialities flaunt shamelessly on the high places of trade, you will labour in vain to educate into tender moral sensibility the crowds of young men who occupy its low places. The escape of a great criminal, with the connivance of public opinion and public law, stimulates and forces into maturity the roots and seeds of crime that slumber indigenous in the hearts of hundreds.

ART. V.—1. *The Illustrated History of Alcohol.* By Frederic R. Lees, Ph.D. London: John Chapman and Co. Nos. 1 to 4. 1843-46.

2. *On the Use and Abuse of Alcoholic Liquors.* A Prize Essay. By William B. Carpenter, M.D., Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in University College. London: C. Gilpin, 1850.

3. *The Pathology of Drunkenness.* A View of the Operation of Ardent Spirits in the Production of Disease, founded on Original Observation and Research. By Charles Wilson, M.D. Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1855.

4. *Refutation of the Westminster Review.* By Dr. F. R. Lees, and J. M. MacCulloch, M.D. London: W. Tweedie, 1855.

5.

5. *Principles of Human Physiology.* By W. B. Carpenter, M.D., F.R.S. Fifth Edition. London: John Churchill, 1855.
6. *Alcohol; its Place and Power.* By James Miller, F.R.S.E., Professor of Surgery in the University of Edinburgh. London: Houlston and Wright, 1858.

THE possibility of a Science of Life is founded on the assumption that vital phenomena, like all others, are regulated by laws, invariable and mathematical—that is, by 'forces,' at once precise, ascertainable, and calculable. On this supposition solely is the study of physiology, of diet, disease, and medicine, of any conceivable utility or interest. Neither temperance nor intemperance, neither wisdom nor folly in relation to health, can be possible, where *no sanitary laws* exist, or where the forces at work are transient and fluctuating. Morality itself becomes meaningless, where physical laws are unknown; even the very idea of causation has for its background and basis the ultimate conception of *fixedness.* Hence the practical interest of the world in biological studies. Physiological law is the unfaltering expression of that Omnipotence which rolls along the planets in their orbit, and poises the sun in his central effulgence. These laws accept no bribe, endure no rival, and hold no parley. The body of man lives under the stern covenant of works, 'Do and live, disobey and die.' In vain you plead a throbbing head—a burning thirst—a morbid craving—a strong temptation and weakened will—in arrest of judgment. Whatsoever is sown in *this* field of action, of *that*, and no other seed, must be the harvest which is reaped. The violated law (though, after all, mercy in disguise) marches on, like a remorseless Nemesis, to the fulfilment of the covenant. He who fully apprehends this truth, will feel the absurdity of the common but latent expectation, 'that the cunning physician can reconcile intemperance with health.'

The fact of the complexity of the conditions and processes of life, and the consequent difficulty of discovering them, is by no means a reason for abandoning their persistent pursuit; much less is it any justification for indifference or doubt: it is rather a more urgent call for the careful consideration of the methods and paths to be followed, in order to reach and master these laws. The history of biological inquiry is pregnant with examples of the extent to which science may be retarded in its progress by exclusive methods, scholastic authorities, and hasty hypotheses. On the one hand, vitalists have discarded the explanations of mathematicians and chemists; and on the other, mechanists and chemists have attempted the solution of vital phenomena by the partial, and therefore exaggerated, application of their favourite principles. Now obviously, in the incessant molecular motion characteristic of vital

vital structures, we have a process which furnishes no fixed quantities for the geometers to manipulate; yet it cannot be denied, that a rational understanding of animal mechanics—of the complex structure and play of the human organism—presupposes some previous acquaintance with mathematical science; and it is equally certain that the laws of equilibrium and of motion, of the conversion of forces, as of heat into steam or electricity, are mathematical questions of *quantity* (or energy), irrespective altogether of the special character of the force. It is a pernicious fallacy to suppose that the complexity of forces and operations in man at all detracts from the *certainty* and *stability* of their action—in short, their 'invariableness;' or that the general truths of statics and dynamics are not as perfectly illustrated in the body of man, as in any machine of art, or in the masses of the solar system. The only material difference is this, that in man there resides a power which enables him to change the direction of movement, and to disturb the equilibrium *at will;* and by this unique endowment he is constituted a morally responsible being.

The mathematical method of *exactness* is essential to the success of biological pursuits. The *facts* to which that method is applied, must of course be collected by careful induction—by crucial experiment which shall eliminate extraneous conditions on the one hand, and by a broad and varied experience which shall, so to speak, absorb them, on the other. In fine, the strict conditions of scientific evidence must be fulfilled, and all 'authority'—all mere 'plausibility' and seeming—rigidly rejected. We would not, however, absolutely exclude all conjectural *hypotheses.* As in the well-known cases of Newton's law of gravitation, and Dalton's atomic theory, a rational hypothesis may be provisionally adopted. Ideality may carry the torch which lights the way to reality; but we must not mistake it for the object itself. Let it be regarded as a fiction *waiting* to be tested by fact, and no harm can come of it. Of the dignity and worth of biological study, few can entertain a doubt. Apart from its practical value, a mastery of the laws of life has in the past, and will still more in the future, be accepted as the surest measure and most certain mark of intellectual superiority.

To biology several other studies and collateral sciences are subordinated, such as anatomy and pathology, pharmacy, therapeutics, and regimen, but more particularly chemistry, which forms a distinct *preliminary* science. The modern doctrine of TEMPERANCE, associated with one of the most notable popular movements which the historian of the nineteenth century will have to record, blends itself intimately, as a theory of regimen, with both physiology and chemistry; while, regarded as a personal and social question, it finds an appropriate chapter in the science of ethics.

ethics. Temperance doctrine, therefore, has a prime and essential relation to three things:—

1st. To the *physical agent* of intoxication, by virtue of which the question comes within the domain of chemistry.

2nd. To the *work of alcohol in the living body*, which limits the question to a discussion in physiology.

3rd. To the *moral and social consequences* of drinking, which refers the problem to the decision of deontology, or the science of duty.

These, in fact, are the three cardinal points to which the agitation of temperance has constantly tended, notwithstanding occasional divergencies, which may be compared to the oscillations of the magnetic needle. The common sense of the reformers has adhered with sound Saxon insight and pertinacity to the true issue; and there can be no doubt in the minds of careful observers, that this agitation and discussion, in its entire bearings and consequences, has not only had all the effect of a *national education* on the important and specific topic of food and drink, but has done much to waken up the popular mind to other subjects of great social and moral interest. The advocates of temperance, lay and cleric, have been the itinerant instructors of the people, the heralds of sanitary improvement, the preachers of physical and social purity, the apostles of a dawning science of daily life. Within our memory—though time has not yet silvered our locks—not only the educated portion of society, but the general members of the medical profession, entertained the rudest and most confused notions as to diet; whilst the nation at large was shrouded in the crassest ignorance. Everybody, no doubt, felt their *need* of 'daily bread;' but not one could have given an accurate, and few even a plausible *explanation* of the need, or of the adaptation of the food to the want. Not merely did the people not know what *was* food; they believed almost universally that 'drink' was food—that alcohol was a 'necessary of life;' at once innocent, invigorating, and nutritious! The first light which broke in upon the darkness arose from the progress of chemical analysis, and its application to the chemistry of the body. Dr. Prout's division of food into the *saccharine* and *oleaginous* on the one hand, compounds of three chemical elements only (carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen)—and into the *albuminous* on the other, compounded of a greater numerical complexity of elements (especially of nitrogen)—naturally suggested a distinction of *function* or use. It furnished, moreover, a natural standard of comparison for the value of all food, real or alleged, founded upon the presumed perfection of natural law, as the expression of Divine wisdom. Then came the providential discoveries of Mulder and Liebig, which, at first supposed to countenance the

use

use of strong drink, were astutely seized on by the earliest scientific expositors of temperance, in 1843, as demonstrations of 'the science of teetotalism.' Now a flood of light illuminates this entire plane. Analysis, experiment, and, above all, experience, have contributed their testimony; and confusion, obscurity, and darkness have given way to Science—to clear-seeing.

Much opposition had to be encountered by the early and earnest advocates of this new physical temperance, or rather, of an old forgotten temperance revived. But the contest was their discipline and their strength. The conservative critics of custom, the professional advocates of prejudice, as in all similar cases of discovery, sought, in the quaint words of Carlyle, in the opening chapter of the 'Sartor,' to 'erect turnpikes, spiked-gates, and impassable barriers,' in the path of the *unlicensed* adventurers. The obstructions, however, were removed, one by one, and Science, year by year, opened the pages of her illuminated missal to the eager eyes of these new truth-seekers. Perhaps to none can the wise words of Carlyle be more justly applied than to these pioneers of a movement which now constitutes at once the most important branch of life-science popularized to the nation, and that particular field of biological inquiry which is most completely cleared from the doubt and uncertainty that yet hang over so much of the domain of physiology:—

'How often have we seen some adventurous, perhaps much-censured wanderer, light on some outlying, neglected, yet vitally momentous province; the hidden treasures of which he first discovered, and *kept proclaiming till the general eye and effort were directed thither, and the conquest was completed;* thereby planting new standards, founding new habitable colonies, in the immeasurable circumambient realm of nothingness and night. Wise man was he who counselled that speculation should have free course, and look fearlessly towards all the thirty-two points of the compass, whithersoever and howsoever it listed. It is written, "Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased." The plain rule is, Let each *considerate* person have his way, and see what it will lead to: for not this man and that man, but all men make up mankind, and their *united task* the task of mankind.'

From the issue of the prize essay, 'Bacchus,' in 1840, to the publication of Professor Carpenter's 'Human Physiology' in 1855, which contains an admirable summary of the established truths of temperance, there has been a sure and steady advance in science towards the stand-point of the water-drinker. For the verification of this remark we appeal to the scientific works and able popular treatises, written by scientific men of our own land, the titles of which are prefixed to this article; and we may add the interesting fact, that the series of eminent experimenters on the Continent, whose researches and productions have given a new direction and an enormous impetus to biological inquiries—amongst whom we may especially name Liebig, Otto, Huss, Vierordt, Mulder, Naas, Böcker, Moleschott, Morel, and Lehmann

mann—have confirmed, in every particular, the leading principles of the temperance reformers of Britain; and in no instance have they turned up any nullifying or hostile fact. Putting aside as inconclusive, or impertinent in science, a lax phrase or loose 'opinion' here and there, the temperance doctrine may be absolutely *formularised* out of their own works, and even in their very words.

We proceed to indicate some of the chief facts and principles which may now be regarded as *established* in relation to this subsidiary branch of chemical, physiological, and ethical science.

1st. As to the CHEMISTRY of alcoholic liquors. 'The substances (lignin, sugar, starch, and gum) which constitute the *principal mass* of every vegetable, are compounds of carbon, with oxygen and hydrogen *in the proper relative proportions for forming water.* In another class (the organic acids) the proportion of oxygen is greater than would be required for producing water by union with hydrogen. A third class (volatile and fixed oils) may be regarded as compounds of carbon with the elements of water, and an *excess of hydrogen.*'* Alcohol ranges under this type of substance. 'Nature never forms spirituous liquors; she rots the grape upon the branch; but it is *art* which converts the juice into wine.' † 'Alcohol does not exist ready formed in plants, but is a product of the *vinous fermentation.*' ‡ 'This name is given to the peculiar decomposition which the different species of sugar undergo *in certain circumstances.*' § 'The formation of alcohol takes place *at the expense* of the destruction *of a vegetable principle*: thus spirituous fermentation is a commencement of the *destruction* of principles formed by vegetation.'‖ Chemistry may be defined as the science of the transformation of matter, by the play of mutual affinities. Sugar is that special combination expressed symbolically as $C_{12} H_{12} O_{12}$. 'Substances containing no nitrogen *require*, in order to their undergoing this metamorphosis [of fermentation], the presence of a nitrogenized substance already in a state of putrefaction' [*i. e.* yeast]. This ferment disturbs the existing equilibrium, or cohesion of the sugar-atoms, and effects a literal cleavage. All the hydrogen-atoms, 8 of the carbon, and 4 of the oxygen re-form as 2 equivalents of *alcohol* ($C_4 H_6 O_2$), and the remaining 4 atoms of carbon and 8 of oxygen adhere as 4 equivalents of carbonic acid gas ($C_2 O_2$). 'It follows from these results that, in fermentation, sugar produces these *new substances* by a new grouping of its elements.' Thus, to the old, and we would

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* *Liebig:* 'Organic Chemistry,' 1st ed., p. 3.
† *Chaptal:* 'L'Art de faire le Vin,' p. 2.
‡ *Turner:* 'Elements of Chemistry,' 2nd ed., p. 664.
§ 'Turner's Chemistry,' edited by *Liebig*, p. 990.
‖ *Fourcroy:* 'Philosophy of Chemistry,' c. xii.

would fain hope exploded notion, that alcohol exists *in* the sugar, science gives its emphatic answer in the negative. 'None of the atoms of carbon are contained in the sugar *as carbonic acid.* . . The hydrogen of the sugar does not exist in it *in the form of alcohol*, for it is converted into water and a kind of carbonaceous matter, when treated with acids; and this manner of decomposition is never suffered by a compound of alcohol. Sugar, therefore, contains neither alcohol nor carbonic acid.'* Alcohol, it is clear, can have no claim to rank amongst the *natural* gifts of Providence; and is distinctly different in its typical chemical composition from the chief bulk of them. It is, moreover, a fluid, not a solid, and the result of decomposition, not of growth. If these facts are indications of its general unfitness as food, its chemical properties determine its absolute unsuitableness as a circulating medium like water. 'Alcohol greedily absorbs water [even] from the atmosphere, and *deprives animal substances of the water they contain*, causing them to shrivel up. Hence its use in *preserving* anatomical preparations.'† An antiseptic fluid is obviously not an appropriate vehicle of life.

It is a singular fact, that in the vital organisms, both of plants and animals, *precautions* seem to have been taken against the formation of alcohol. In the grape the albumen is not only separated from the saccharine matter by a membrane, but, as if to protect the albumen from being changed into *yeast* by the action of the air, it is put into the very *cellar*, or innermost repository of its structure. It has been shown by experiment and analysis‡ that *putrefying* grapes yield no alcohol; and even in the abnormal chemical processes set up under disease in the living body there is no reason whatever for believing that the *vinous* fermentation, attended with the production and manifesting the presence of alcohol, ever occurs. Fermentation of starch no doubt takes place in gastric catarrh, as it would out of the stomach, according to the nature of the secreted mucus. Frerich observed the gummy, lactic, acetic, and butyric variety; but we find no proof on record of the alcoholic.§ Physiological chemistry has demonstrated that grape-sugar (*glucose*)—and this kind of sugar alone is susceptible of the vinous fermentation ‖—will not become oxidized in the blood until the liver has changed it into *animal* sugar; and that it then yields by oxidation, not alcohol and carbonic acid, but *lactic acid*, which has a special work to do before

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* *Liebig:* 'Organic Chemistry,' p. 248.

† 'Turner's Chemistry,' edited by *Liebig*, p. 874.

‡ Works of Dr. Lees, i. p. 124.

§ *Lehmann*: 'Physiological Chemistry,' ii. p. 134.

‖ Cane-sugar ($C_{12}H_{11}O_{11}$) is changed into *glucose* by combination with an atom of water (HO), before it can be split up into alcohol and carbonic acid.

it

it is burnt up.* 'Scherer has called attention to a peculiar kind of sugar (*inosite*), incapable of fermentation, and found in the muscular juice.'† The most extensive survey of chemical physiological facts ever made by one man, and collated in one work, has led the philosophical and accomplished collector to this conclusion, in regard to *normal* processes within the living body:—'It must be frankly confessed that the assumption of fermentative actions in any process, is nothing more than an indication of our positive ignorance.'‡

Chemical analysis has shown that the 'virtues' of the best wines of the Continent, and the principles which render them costly, reside *in the grape*, and are, therefore, not the products of fermentation, but of growth. A passage from the 'Animal Chemistry' of Liebig has been frequently cited in laudation of the famous wines of the Rhine, the true purport of which has been strangely overlooked. The Baron says:—'The nobler wines produce a minimum of injurious after-effect.' Why? Because 'the consequences of the action of alcohol on the nervous system are, *after a certain time*, more or less neutralized.' The evil *to be* neutralized is distinctly admitted; and that it consists in the action of the alcohol, which is, therefore, *not* the valuable element of the wine. Now, how are 'the effects rendered harmless?' 'By a corresponding increase in the excretions of the lungs and the kidneys.' And how is this effected? By the action of the *organic acids and salts*, which pre-exist in the grape-juice.§ Mulder has shown, in his recent 'Chemistry of Wine,' that it is not the alcohol nor the sugar, but the acids, salts, and 'bouquet' in wines which determine their price. Amongst the new elements produced by fermentation of grape-juice (*must*), the chief are alcohol and œnanthic ether—'a fœtid liquid.' 'Let no one imagine,' says Mulder, 'that since fresh wine is not fragrant, it cannot, therefore, *contain* odoriferous substances, and that these must necessarily be the products of fermentation. The juice of many grapes is fragrant before fermentation; but the young wine contains excess of œnanthic ether, which causes the wine to affect the head, and *masks* at first the fragrance of the aromatic ingredients of the grape-juice. It is not until the wine has been some time in store, and other fragrant ethers have been engendered from œnanthic ether, that *the original aroma of the grape-juice reappears.* The etherial oils also pre-exist in grape-juice.' If we might give a hint to the

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* Vide *Bernard's* Experiments. † *Lehmann*, ii. p. 90. ‡ *Lehmann*, p. 103.

§ Our readers may recollect the famous experience of the Venetian centenarian, Cornaro. He was always best in health during the vintage and the first half of the wine year. He fell off towards summer, because, as the wine aged, it grew *more alcoholic*, and the *saline constituents* (potash, &c.) so healthful to the blood, and previously held in solution, were *precipitated* by keeping.

friends

friends of temperance in Britain, we should suggest the formation, not of a wine company to procure genuine port and sherry, but of a *dessert company*, which should apply the known principles of science, illustrated in the preservation of cauliflowers and green vegetables, to the preservation of luscious grapes and other matured fruits—the profuse introduction of which would rapidly displace from most tables the factitious and poisonous compounds now designated as 'wines.'

2nd. As to the PHYSIOLOGY of alcoholic beverages. We say 'beverages,' because the therapeutical uses of alcohol have no relation to the dietetic save that of *contrast*, and because the facts of that question are in too unsettled a state to have any pretensions to the name of scientific verities. Even were that not the case, we should remit the topic to a properly-qualified medical tribunal; on the one hand, content to concede that 'in poison there *is* physic,' and on the other to infer the converse, that 'in physic there is *poison*.'

> 'Within the infant rind of this small flower,
> Poison hath residence, and med'cine power.' *

Arsenic often acts excellently as an antidote to the poison of the viper, and, for anything we know, alcohol may possess similar virtues. It is no doubt an agent of great potency; as a beverage for the people it has proved itself an agent of vast evil; but as a medicine it may, nevertheless, possess some utility.

The question of the *topical* effects of alcohol may be dismissed on the ground that no one disputes the fact that pure alcohol is a violent and deadly poison, inasmuch as, applied to the extremities of a nerve or muscle, it produces precisely the same reactions and disturbance as the vegetable alkaloid poisons, as the mineral acids, and as prussic acid or chloroform. What, however, if it be largely diluted? Fact evinces that in such case the virus is sheathed, not neutralized. Proof spirit undoubtedly manifests, not only an inflammatory and corrugating, but corrosive, influence on the living tissue. Common rum, of which 70 per cent. is water, will not only warm but burn the mouth, and *deaden* the nerve of a decayed tooth. In the remarkable and now well-known case of St. Martin, who had an orifice into his stomach, rendering the interior of that organ visible to the naked eye, Dr. Beaumont records two conclusive facts: 1, that fermented liquors had the same topical effects as ardent spirits, and when continued for some days, alike reddened and inflamed the gastric surfaces; and, 2, that the serious lesions of this organ were *unfelt* by the subject of them. These facts certainly tend to show that it is a delusion to infer innocency of result from the mere absence of

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* *Shakspere*: 'Romeo and Juliet.'

sensation

sensation of injury; or to believe that the copious mixture of 'honest water' with an acrid stimulant will reduce the effect of the poison to *zero*.

The general influence of alcoholic beverage, as it exists diluted in the blood, in 'relation' to the chemico-vital processes involved in the appropriation of food, and the functions of nutrition and excretion, is the question of primest importance.

Mulder was the first chemist who enounced the great law of the dependence of the animal on the vegetable kingdom for the *materials* of its nutrition. Nature, which supplies no alcohol, has nevertheless spread upon her table a rich banquet of adapted food; yet, amidst a vast variety of form and flavour in the dishes, the essential proximate elements of human aliment are reducible to three—*sugar*, *oil*, and *albumen*. Of these, at a rough proportion, 7-10ths should be saccharine or starchy matter, 1-10th oleaginous, and 2-10ths albuminous. To explain the function of these substances, we must remind the reader, that the human body is a vital machine, an animated locomotive, the parts of which are in a condition of perpetual flux, or molecular change. Within the vital wrappings of an adult body of 150 pounds weight, we have—

	lbs.
Motive and sensitive structure (flesh, nerve, &c.)	17
Earthy substance for support (bones, &c.)	10
Oil, sugar, and waste circulating matter (awaiting combustion) .	6
Water of circulation	113

The beautiful experiments of Schmidt and of Chossat agree in bringing us to the conclusion, that *the daily quantity of properly-selected food* demanded by an animal body, in order to sustain its structure without loss, *must be* 1-23*rd of its own weight*. The food divides itself into two kinds, corresponding to two general functions (nutrition and combustion)—namely, *histogenetic*, to nourish or build up the fabric, and *combustible*, to sustain the temperature. Sugar and oil primarily and mainly constitute the fuel, while albumen typifies the plastic or nutritive elements. This classification, however, though true in a broad sense, is not to be accepted as exclusive or exhaustive. The fat, for example, is also required as an adjunctive element in the *digestion* and *deposit* of nutritive matter. The tissues, again, after becoming effete, and undergoing certain regressive changes, are economically employed as combustible material. Indeed, it is by the action of *oxygen* that all tissues are reduced to excretive forms, and thus finally eliminated from the body. 'The oxidation of combustible matter in the blood is effected *in the capillaries*. The oxygen is taken up in the lungs, and carried by the blood to the distant capillary vessels. Here the *combustion* takes place;'* not directly, how-

* *Fownes:* 'Chemistry.' Ed. 1844, p. 514. Not in the lungs, as loosely

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ever, but by discrete degrees, an equivalent of sugar, for instance, being changed into 2 of lactic acid ($C_6 H_6 O_6$), not at once converted into carbonic acid and water. It is this property of oxygen which constitutes it *vital air*, though one which led mere chemists some years back into the fallacy of regarding oxygen as a *foe* to living structure. The fallacy yet lingers, for we occasionally hear of alcohol being recommended as a combustible to *protect* the tissues from the *destructive* action of oxygen!—quite an imaginary evil, since 'there is no disease characterised by a *too sudden* or rapid oxidation of the blood.'* Lehmann thus refers to the threefold elements of food:—'The proportions in which these factors of nutrition are mixed in the diet, exert the most decided influence on the welfare of the organism, their intermixture being essential to the metamorphosis of matter. Great as are the fluctuations which nature allows in these proportions, *an undue preponderance of one or other* of the factors *always acts injuriously* upon the due course of nutrition. No single section of this process can go on without the concurrence of *all* these factors. Thus all experiments teach us that the carbo-hydrates (*sugar*, &c.) alone are not sufficient for the formation of fat; protein bodies (*albuminates*), as well as *salts*, must co-operate in the metamorphosis.'†

Alcohol has no pretensions to rank as a histogenetic aliment. '*Beer*, *wine*, *spirit*, &c., furnish no element *capable* of entering into the composition of blood, muscular fibre, or any part which is the seat of the vital principle.'‡ 'Alcohol does not effect any direct

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implied in the witty and popular work, No. 6 (pp. 6, 24) at the head of our article. But a Liverpool newspaper lately announced, on the alleged authority of Liebig, that '*the stomach* was the place of combustion!' Challenged to the proof, he adduces a passage which says that combustion takes place '*in the living body!*' This is the fallacy, of which another most amusing form is the following:—'Food is force: alcohol is force. Therefore, alcohol is food!' The fallacy consists in identifying two *things* because one of their *attributes* is the same, as thus:—'Man is mortal, an ass is mortal: Ergo, An ass is (that) MAN!' The conclusion would seem just enough if restricted to the logical architect of such a syllogism, which contains, besides, fallacies of equivocation and confusion. Food *gives* nutritive force; while alcohol only *expends* it. Hence the sophism of the copulative '*is*.' Alcohol, in fact, neither increases heat, nor contributes to nutrition. The same writer, in an article on 'Food and Drink,' maintains that water is food—salt is food—lime is food—and that there is *no ground* for the distinction between histogenetic and combustive food! We have carefully considered his reasons, which amount simply to this: that, under certain circumstances, both kinds of food may serve to form *part* of tissue, while both are undoubtedly burnt, and that all these elements are *essential*. All this does not reconcile us to the paradox, nor alter the obvious facts—that though *air* unites with the body and is essential, it is not 'food;' that our daily drink is not our 'daily bread;' that the matter of the muscle is not oil, though oil may be needful in the process of making it; and that, though albumen may be finally decomposed, its *first* use was that of a building material.

* *Lehmann:* iii. 'On Respiration.'

† *Lehmann:* iii., p. 430.

‡ *Liebig*: 'Chemical Letters,' 1844, p. 57.

restitution

restitution, *nor deserve the name of an alimentary principle.** Still it passes into the blood. By the oxygen we inhale it is burnt into acetic acid and water, and finally into water and carbonic acid. But the oxygen [necessarily limited], which decomposes the alcohol, *is withdrawn from the albuminous and fatty substances* of the blood. . . . In addition, both special experiment and ordinary experience prove that alcoholic beverages *diminish the quantity of carbonic acid exhaled.*' The fatty and effete matters of the blood, therefore, remain to *accumulate*, since the alcohol appropriates the oxygen appointed to consume them, and which, by their combustion, is destined at once to warm and purify the living temple. Thus alcohol is obnoxious to the charge of perverting both nutrition and excretion; impairing the integrity of the one, and diminishing the activity of the other. It has the same tendency on another ground; because it is an exciter of the nervous system, expending 'force,' but never *conferring* it. It is upon the full and regular activity of that system, which it disturbs, that the normal intensity of all nutritive and excretive processes are regulated. Obesity, biliousness, and fatty degeneration of the tissues, are the natural developments of these tendencies;† and to prevent, as well as alleviate such disorders, abstinence is plainly indicated.

'While the enlightened practitioner is disposed to attach at least as much importance to a rational *dietetic* as to a specifically therapeutic mode of treatment, the value of investigations on normal respiration, in reference to the science of medicine, can never be over-rated; for when once the fact is universally admitted, THAT THE FIRST THING IN MANY DISEASES IS TO FURNISH A COPIOUS SUPPLY OF OXYGEN TO THE BLOOD WHICH HAS BEEN LOADED WITH IMPERFECTLY DECOMPOSED SUBSTANCES, *and to remove as speedily as possible the carbonic acid which has accumulated in it*, these observations will have afforded us true *remedial agents*, which exceed almost every other in the certainty of their action.'‡

Under the influence of alcohol, the respiratory function is never *normal*, a tenth of the carbonic acid being retained. The characteristic property of food, as distinguished from that of foreign or toxic bodies, is its *innocency* in relation to structure. It does not excite, irritate, or inflame. Syrup, flour, oil, white of egg, are soothing or neutral. Hence, in following their changes in the human body, we can calculate upon them as chemical compounds of a fixed value for their respective purposes. There is no *disturbing* element—no drawback—no complication. Their values as heat-givers can be tabulated. Fat, in 100 parts, is equal to 240 of starch, 249 of cane-sugar, and 266 of brandy. 'But although,' as Lehmann remarks,—

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* *Moleschott:* 'Lehr der Nahrungs-mittel. Erlangen, 1853.

† Alcohol, as Naas shows, occasioned an augmentation of the *fluid* bile, but a diminution of its solid constituents. On the other hand, Bidder and Schmidt found that water increased the solids of the bile greatly. The same distinction holds of the gastric juice. Alcohol, by *arresting* vital metamorphosis, dries up the fountain of the solid *effective* constituents of the digestive juices. Hence, water-drinkers have the best appetites and digestion.

‡ *Lehmann*, iii.

'In our considerations of the influence of ordinary food on the respiratory function, we have deduced the results of the observations from purely *chemical* relations, *we should greatly err* were we to adopt the same method in reference to certain substances occasionally introduced into the organism, such as the *æthereal oils, alcohol, theine, &c.* Their immediate effect reminds us that there are *nerves* in the animal organism which exert the most important influence on all its functions, *on nutrition as well as on respiration*, and that, consequently, they in some degree disturb that uniform course of phænomena which we might suppose would result from chemical laws. WE CANNOT, THEREFORE, BELIEVE THAT ALCOHOL, THEINE, ETC., WHICH PRODUCE SUCH POWERFUL REACTIONS ON THE NERVOUS SYSTEM, BELONG TO THE CLASS OF SUBSTANCES CAPABLE OF CONTRIBUTING TOWARDS THE MAINTENANCE OF THE VITAL FUNCTIONS.'

May not alcohol be regarded, however, when taken in moderate doses, so as not to narcotize the nerves, as an element of *fuel?* Is it not certainly decomposed, and so gives out heat? Yes, all this *is* certain: but the common inference that alcohol *therefore* warms the body is, nevertheless, a fallacy. The fact is, as long since pointed out, that 'alcohol robs the blood of oxygen, and thus *keeps* within the system uncombusted an amount of oil and waste matter, which, if permitted to unite with the fresh air now abstracted by the alcohol, would have given out to the vital current *a much greater amount* of animal heat.'* Oil and sugar are always present in the blood: they are of greater value than alcohol as fuel; hence, as the oxygen inbreathed cannot combine at once with *both* the natural and artificial element, *the drinker loses the difference in value.* In accordance with this calculation, the experiments of Dr. Davy, in 1845, and of Professor Davis, of America, in 1850, show that the thermometer indicates an invariable fall of temperature after the use of alcohol.† Dr. Lees, and Professors Carpenter, Gregory, Miller, and others, have adduced an overwhelming mass of experience to prove the superiority of a natural fatty diet in the Arctic regions for resisting cold; as well as furnished some very striking examples of the exemption from disease in warm climates conferred by habits of water-drinking. Want of space compels us to pass by with a bare reference numerous interesting experiments in relation to the effect of alcohol upon the structure of the tissues and of the blood, and upon the functions of the liver. Dr. Böcker's curious observations confirm all preceding inquiries as to the effect of *small doses* of alcohol (whether as wine, beer, or spirit) in diminishing the amount of carbonic acid, and of the phosphates, eliminated. It 'increased the coloured clot, *which reddened much less rapidly* on exposure to the air; and contained many more of the pale *unnucleated discs* than is usual in perfect health; and which Dr. Virchow regarded as *defunct bodies*, or partially effete matters.'‡

3rd. As to the ETHICS of this question. One great fact stands prominently

* *Dr. Lees:* 'History of Alcohol,' 1846. 'Works,' i. p. cli.
† 'Works of Dr. Lees,' iii. ‡ 'Beiträge zur Heilkunde.' Crefeld, 1849.

prominently forth from the pages of experience and of science—that alcohol is, in a special sense, a *brain-poison.* It attaches itself to brain-substance with peculiar avidity—remains there last and longest. Its peculiarly deceptive power depends upon its action on the nerves and nervous centres. It first delights and then enslaves. It is, indeed, 'a very dangerous and tricksy spirit.'* When it is recollected that the power of the will is greatest over the automatic actions of the cerebrum, and least over the lower nervous centres ministering to 'the flesh,'—that alcohol and other narcotics *intensify* the automatic action of the lower centres, while they weaken and disturb the functions of cerebration involved in the development of moral volition,—the Christian moralist will perceive what a momentous individual duty this knowledge imposes.

Nor are the relations of temperance to social science less important. Alcohol, in subverting intelligence and self-control, antagonises the government which paradoxically sanctions its sale. This question, moreover, has its relations to trade and commerce, wages and capital, pauperism, insanity, and crime. As one affecting public health and economy, it transcends all others. Alcohol is a great anti-ventilator. It feeds disease internally, and perpetuates the chief objective conditions of it amongst the poor. Its use is as constantly fatal to the health of our population at home, as it was to our soldiers in the Crimea, when, at *the very time* that the sick rate of the British force encamped under better sanitary circumstances than the Turkish contingent, was 6, 7, and 8 per 100, the Turkish rate was but 2 per cent.; and while the Turkish sickness, under the prevalence of *scurvy*, never *rose* higher than 5 per cent., the sickness of the British force, in its most *healthy* state, never *sank* lower than that proportion. If statistics, at home and abroad, prove anything whatever, there is the clearest evidence that one-half of the sickness of the civilised world is, simply and solely, due to alcohol. When our social leaders may be disposed fairly to examine and grapple *this* aspect of the 'Condition-of-England question,' we cannot tell; but the need is pressing. An intestine war is being waged between the tavern and intelligence, appetite and knowledge, legal temptation and moral suasion; during which temperance societies can barely keep their own. Enthusiasm should be guarded by conservative laws, which would bring our *institutions* into harmony with our theories. With much to encourage, there is no little to fear. Sensualism is robust and rampant, while the moral bonds of society seem to wax feebler, and on some hands to be dissolving. The destiny of Britain, we verily believe, turns upon this question of temperance. If our national vice be not effectually stemmed,

* 'Westminster Review,' July 1855.

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the mental and physical constitution of the people alike will become corrupted and depraved. The Continent, through some of its wisest men, has already lifted up its warning voice. If drinking goes on, mental and moral imbecility will increase; nameless *taints* will ramify and spread, broader and deeper; until successive generations of physical deterioration ultimately terminate in national decay. But England a *sober* nation—what would be the glory of her past, compared to the splendour of her future!

Art. VI.—1. *Prostitution, considered in its Moral, Social, and Sanitary Aspects.* By William Acton, M.R.C.S. London: John Churchill. 1857.

2. *The Greatest of our Social Evils.* By a Physician. London: H. Baillière. 1857.

3. *Reports of Associate Institute and Society for the Protection of Women.*

4. '*The Times*,' *January*, *February*, *March*.

A CONSCIENTIOUS and zealous desire to correct the social evils that beset us constitutes one of the most encouraging signs of the times. The efforts that have lately been made to reform the criminal, to instruct the ragged, to educate the ignorant—however short these efforts may be of what is required—furnish, nevertheless, so many unanswerable proofs of the existence and spread of the conviction that it is the duty of every one individually to promote, as far as he can, the welfare of all collectively. Man is not more distinguished from the brute creation by his reason, than by his social instincts. The heathen philosophic poet felt this;* but it remained for the divine Author of Christianity to consecrate the sublime principle of universal benevolence, and to give the authority of God himself to the glorious command 'to love our neighbour as ourselves.' That this ennobling and exalted moral principle should have been so lamentably forgotten and practically forsaken by men professedly Christian, is only one proof, amongst many that might be adduced, that mankind are very little apt to carry out principles which they theoretically profess so positively that no greater insult could be offered them than would be implied by a suspicion of the sincerity of their profession.

Yet it is quite certain that, in this Christian land of England, many—very many—thousands of women are leading lives of open, notorious profligacy; many of the streets of our great cities are thronged at night with shameless creatures, who, not content with

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* Juv. 'Sat.' xv. 131—140.

parading

parading their dishonour before the world, do not scruple to annoy and disgust even unwilling men with their solicitations; infamous houses are kept for the avowed purpose of prostitution; an acknowledged trade is carried on by panders and procuresses, in the bodies of women, both foreign and English. All this national disgrace and personal brutality has been carried on, and is spreading, in the very heart of us, to the disgust and scandal of the moral, the just horror of the pious, and the danger of all; yet, until within a short time, hardly an effort has been made to check this prodigious and abominable evil. Legislators, statesmen, and philanthropists, who have been the foremost to acknowledge and lament the mischief, seem, by general and almost unanimous consent, to have despaired of a remedy, and to have resigned themselves over to the toleration of one of the most alarming of all social evils, from fear or incapacity to grapple with it. We have no hesitation in attributing this inactivity and strange unwillingness to attempt the correction of an admitted public plague, *to a want of moral courage.* Men, whose labours on behalf of the needy, the ignorant, and the oppressed, are beyond all praise—men who shrink from no labour, and care for no peril, in the prosecution of their generous works of benevolence—nevertheless refuse to take active part in applying a remedy to a social disease, infinitely more dangerous and fatal to the well-being of the body politic than many of the various evils which it is their business and their glory to hunt out, and to endeavour to cure. There are few men in either house of parliament who would willingly introduce a Bill to check prostitution. Yet the man who should succeed in putting a legal restraint on prostitution would be entitled to as deep gratitude and a reward as noble at the hands of the people, as any philanthropist who ever made their welfare his special and successful study. The introduction of a wise enactment on this subject would expose the mover to the ridicule of the profligate and the silly; and men who are brave enough to face death itself are afraid of a sneer.

It must be confessed it is a matter in which the conduct of the best men is liable to misconstruction: which, however, is no reason whatever for relinquishing it; but an unanswerable reason for bracing our moral nerves up to a higher pitch, and resolving to exert them with firmer and bolder muscle. Let us hope that the increased interest in the matter which has lately been manifested by various public bodies will produce a wholesomer and braver spirit in our legislators. The vast parishes of St. James and Marylebone, in London, have felt and are still feeling so sorely the injurious social effects, as well as moral infamy, which prostitution has brought on them, that several public meetings have been held in them for the purpose of devising methods of abating the plague.

plague. There is a society called 'The Associate Institute for Enforcing and Improving the Laws for the Protection of Women.' It has courageously and successfully carried on about a hundred and thirty prosecutions of brothels, procuresses, and others concerned in the iniquitous trade of prostitution. The publicity given to its proceedings, and especially its annual reports, have emboldened many private persons to come forward and assist them in their work; have put public bodies in possession of important statistical facts; and have left every one without excuse who remains ignorant of the magnitude and malignity of the evil, which is really sapping the foundations of our social welfare.

We fear there can be no doubt that the pestilence is increasing amongst us. As for the numbers of women now living in England on the wages of prostitution, it is quite impossible for any reliable statistics to be made out on the subject. The numbers may be calculated, however, at all events by twenties of thousands; and this vast multitude comprises women of all ranks, conditions, and degrees. Many of those who live on the wages of prostitution drive about the London parks in dashing equipages, are to be seen at the opera, and are well-known riders in various hunts. Many of them are the daughters of gentlemen, who, having fallen from honour, often become as low in thought, as degraded in feeling, and as brutal in manner, as the vilest and most uneducated members of their unhappy calling. Many of them are the daughters of tradesmen, who having been seduced, or willingly ruined, never return to their family: it is remarkable that the moral fall of a daughter seems seldom or never to be forgiven by parents in this rank of life. Some of these poor women get married; but the large majority of them go through a tolerably regular process of intemperance, disease, misery, beggary;—and all is ended by an early death of ignominy and agony.

Many of them are persons of the very lowest rank; utterly ignorant, unlettered, and brutal: they are the most to be pitied of all,—for they are the children of parents who cared nothing for them,—often, indeed, of parents who encouraged them in their sin, for the sake of getting rid of them, or of enabling them to gain money. The control exercised by farm-servants and agricultural labourers over their daughters is generally trifling—very often nothing; and this class of persons unhappily contribute a considerable item to the multitude of public prostitutes. French women now form a regular and important part of the courtesans in our cities. Sorry also we are to add, that many girls of very tender age, under sixteen, are to be found carrying on this trade of sin. Thus, almost every rank and class in the state furnishes its proportion of supply to the enormous amount of public infamy and misery. If the numbers of these unhappy women may be reckoned

reckoned by twenties of thousands, the sums of money annually spent on them may certainly be estimated at several millions!

The systematic audacity and effrontery with which their proceedings are now carried on, particularly in the metropolis, is as remarkable as it is offensive. Certain parts of London are appropriated by certain sections of them as if they claimed them by tacit and indefeasible right of possession. The eastern side of Regent-street is the exclusive beat of French women, after, and for some time before, sunset. As soon as these foreigners have taken their ground, no decent Englishwoman can venture to be seen in the greatest and noblest of the thoroughfares of the metropolis!

St. James's Park is invaded, after dark, by a body of some of the vilest prostitutes of London. It is very extraordinary, but quite true, that in no place in England is the brutality of open profligacy more disgustingly exhibited than in the space immediately under the windows of the palace of our Queen! St. James's Park, after dark, is forbidden ground, not only to respectable women, but to respectable men!

Such scenes are publicly enacted nightly in these places as would not be tolerated in the worst part of any continental city. We may reasonably ask, Have the English people lost all sense of personal respect, and all regard for national character and honour?

It is impossible to form anything like a correct estimate of the extent and magnitude of the evils produced by this detestable system of prostitution. The amount of physical suffering, in the shape of loathsome and ghastly disease, is prodigious. The records of our hospitals bear hideous testimony to the ravages of this frightful system. The number of victims who are sacrificed every year to our public allowance of brutal sin is enormous. The ramifications of mischief and misery produced by prostitution are almost countless. There is probably not a single family in England that has not suffered in some way from this national sin. Many lads and young men are sent from the country to our great towns as apprentices, or students, or shopmen, or labourers. Virtuous, amiable, unsullied as yet by the grosser vices, but inexperienced in the ways of the world, multitudes of them fall into the pit of ruin prepared for them by the allurements of prostitution. Of those that escape bodily and physical ruin, very many contract such habits as are no less ruinous. There is a peculiar moral degradation which accompanies and marks this sin: companionship with abandoned women breaks down all the finer feelings and affections of the heart absolutely and often irretrievably. Many a young man, from being the companion, learns to be the accomplice of a strumpet, and gradually becomes as dishonest; and he who, before his fatal connection with prostitutes, was upright, honourable, and noble in disposition, not seldom ends his days in the felon's

felon's prison! Who can tell how many parents have died heart-broken in consequence of prostitution being publicly permitted, or at least not publicly checked? How many youths, who might have been the pride, the comfort, and the blessing of their family, are consigned year by year to dishonoured and untimely graves, the victims of legislative toleration of exorbitant national sin!

We may be told that, however enormous may be the evils of prostitution, it is impossible to put an end to them. We are quite aware that all the Acts of Parliament in the world cannot hinder men and women from committing sensual sin; but Acts of Parliament may check the open commission of sin; nay, it is the highest, the first, and most solemn duty of a legislature to protect the morals of the people. The indulgence of vice is one thing; its public profession is another and very different thing. Law can deal with public actions; and there is no clearer axiom in political morality than this—that it is the duty, the right, and the business of the state to punish such actions as are inconsistent with the virtue, the happiness, and the welfare of the people. If it is only reasonable that there should be a power of indicting a manufactory where such stench is produced as is inconsistent with the health and comfort of the neighbourhood, how much more reasonable is it that there should be a power of indicting a house which spreads a moral pestilence around it far and near!

Yet almost countless houses are notoriously, avowedly kept as dens of prostitution; and it is idle to say that they may be indicted, for the legal proof required to convict a house of being a brothel is of such a nature as to be a disgusting scandal and disgrace to our statutes. The penalty incurred on conviction is seldom such as to deter any one from continuing or commencing the business of brothel-keeper. Indeed, it may safely be said that the law for putting down these houses of filthy abomination could not have been more cunningly framed if it had been the intention of the legislator, under pretence of checking, really to encourage prostitution, for the expense of prosecuting a brothel is incurred by the parish in which the nuisance stands. It often happens that the officers of a parish infested by these houses are unwilling to prosecute, because they are justly afraid of entailing such unfair expenses on the parish; and, indeed, no great advantage arises to the public from a conviction; for a man who has been convicted of keeping a brothel in the parish of St. James can snap his fingers at his prosecutors, and open a new house on the other side of the street, which happens to be in the parish of St. George! If a boy steals a turnip worth twopence he is prosecuted at the expense of the county, not of the parish, in which the theft was committed. Why is the stealing of a turnip to be brought under county jurisdiction whilst the incalculably greater nuisance and plague of a brothel,

brothel, which is a curse, an infamy, and a scourge to the people all around, whether in the parish or out of it, is to be regarded as matter solely of parochial concern?

It is hardly possible that any one act of felony should produce half as much public evil as the keeping of a brothel is certain to produce. On this primary and fundamental point we are confident that our case is unanswerable and complete. The law for prosecuting brothels is obviously defective and ought to be amended. We are sure that no lawyer, or layman of common sense, will deny the justice of our remarks. But if proper legal facilities were provided for proving a house to be a brothel, and if the expenses of prosecuting such a house were laid, as they ought to be laid, on the county instead of the parochial rates, there can be no doubt that these houses would very soon diminish in number; it would become a bad speculation to keep them: and if they were not absolutely extinguished in time, the inhabitants of them would at least be compelled, in self-defence, to carry on their hateful trade in comparative secrecy; it would be their interest to avoid provoking public attention and arousing public indignation.

The trade of prostitution thrives if it is encouraged. It needs publicity and advertisement. It is in *this* respect that the unrestrained practice of street-walking is so ruinous. Street-walking is the method that prostitutes have of advertising their loathsome trade, and at the same time of exhibiting themselves in the most attractive, because the most deceitful, manner.

We should be glad to know on what principle of public morality, or political expediency, it can be pretended that many of the streets of our great cities should be rendered forbidden ground to all decent people, whilst occupation of them is exclusively claimed by profligate women and their profligate companions. Of the young men who are ruined through prostitution, a large number would have escaped the sin altogether, had they not been exposed to the incessant temptations thrown in their way by the women who infest the streets. The facility of committing sin naturally encourages and multiplies its commission.

For the removal of the plague of street-walking we apprehend that no new law need be enacted: there can be no legal doubt that it is in the power of the Home Secretary to order the police to keep the streets clear of all persons who do not use them for the purposes of passage and legitimate traffic. We can hardly fancy any case in which the police are less likely to abuse their power than this. Prostitutes, in their several beats, are perfectly well known to them. And that a respectable woman should be apprehended, or molested, on the ground that she was acting as a prostitute, is in the last degree improbable: the very fear of the consequences, which an unlucky or unjustifiable prosecution would entail

entail on themselves, must evidently act as a sufficient reason for caution with the police.

There are 'penitentiaries' for the reform of fallen women; but there is a fatality about these institutions,—*they want classification:* and the result of this defect is, that there exists a disinclination on the part of all prostitutes, except those of the very lowest class, to enter them. Indeed, how can we wonder that a woman, who, however degraded she may be in her present condition, is, nevertheless, a lady by birth, education, and feeling, should prefer perishing in misery, to being classed with women of the most abject, the most brutal, and the most uncivilised of their sex? We by no means object to the establishment of penitentiaries; but if they are to exist at all, they should be *public* penitentiaries, regulated by public control, and under the management and care of the legislature.

One main reason why so few steps have hitherto been taken to remove these miseries is to be found in the popular ignorance on the subject. The world at large has no idea of the facts of the case. Let us produce some calculations and statistics, furnished by the best authorities, and to be found collected in Leon Faucher's book, 'The greatest of our Social Evils,' translated and enlarged by 'a Physician.' It is computed that 400,000 persons are, directly and indirectly, connected with prostitution in London; and that a sum of 8,000,000*l.* is expended annually there on that vice alone. There are at least 5,000 brothels there, and not less than 80,000 prostitutes.* This number is, in proportion to the population of London, much greater than the number of prostitutes in Paris. Immense multitudes of children are prostitutes in London. In eight years 2,700 cases of venereal disease, the result of prostitution, in children of from 11 to 14 years of age, were admitted into three London hospitals: at the same places a still greater number were refused admission, for want of room. Two-thirds of the prostitutes of London are under 20 years of age. The great majority of the whole body are themselves thieves, and the agents and accomplices of thieves. Such a machinery for decoying, importing, and using women for the vilest purposes, exists in London, as is to be found in no other European nation. The number of years during which prostitutes in London live is, at the highest average, 7; at the lowest, 4. Many perish by suicide; many become mad. Epidemic fevers invariably carry off multitudes of them. Many end their lives as felons in gaol, or at the antipodes. Dr. Holland calculated that prostitution causes annually 1,652,500 cases of venereal disease in

* With reference to these appalling figures, we find authorities differ. The number of prostitutes is variously given as from 10,000 to 80,000. The first of these statements is bad enough, the last incredible.—Ed.

England:

England: but this calculation was based on the very erroneous theory, that there are not more than 50,000 prostitutes in the United Kingdom. Dr. Holland's estimate ought to be at least tripled, if not quadrupled. Of the recruits for the militia, one-fourth are found, on examination, to be suffering from some form of venereal disease.

Two-thirds of the known thieves of London are in confederacy with the keepers of brothels. These houses furnish thieves with the means of refuge in case of pursuit; with complete organisation and head-quarters; and with money to baffle, or, at all events, resist justice, in case of apprehension. Of 10,000 persons arrested, in one year, in London, 3,605 were prostitutes. Yet only a small portion of the robberies and crimes committed by these women are ever brought to light; because men who have been robbed and half murdered in brothels are generally unwilling, because ashamed, to prosecute. Dr. Ryan states, that near Fleet-ditch almost every house is a low and infamous brothel. Liverpool exceeds in vice even London itself. But it is impossible to make even a probable guess at the multitude of prostitutes to be found at a given moment at this port, because they are perpetually on the move, coming and going. In Manchester, according to the last Report presented to the Watch Committee, by the head constable, Mr. Willis, in the year 1856, there were 263 brothels, and 615 prostitutes. These, in a population of 330,690, are not large numbers. But the mingling of the sexes in our manufactories must be a fruitful and frightful cause of demoralisation. In Edinburgh, with a population of 166,734, according to the valuable calculations of Mr. Tait, there are 800 public, and 1,160 secret prostitutes. These figures, however, are undoubtedly far below the truth.

M. Leon Faucher, from whose book these statistics have been taken, is an able and valuable writer. We regret, however, to see that his English editor, 'A Physician,' throws out constant, and, we may add, most unjust taunts against those moral and religious societies now established amongst us, and which have endeavoured to check public vice. They may have done but little, as compared with what they desire to do; but they have awakened public attention to most important social and moral questions; they have directed and concentrated public thought; they have cleared the way in the public mind for the reception of the 'Physician's' statistics.

We are certain that we have produced enough facts to prove the enormous and awful evils of prostitution. Our space will not permit us to do more than glance at some of its more immediate causes. The first and most striking of these is to be found in the dwellings of the poorer orders. When men, women, boys and girls,

girls, fathers, mothers, sons and daughters;—when multitudes of people of both sexes and all ages herd and sleep together in the same room;—it is obvious that the preservation of any moral sense is impossible. Children literally begin the business of prostitution without knowing the nature of what they are doing. The details of this dreadful system have been published by Mr. Mayhew, and renewed by others, especially by Dr. Acton, in his able book on Prostitution.

This is an evil which it ought to be a primary duty of Government to redress; and there can be no doubt that, in its grosser and more atrocious forms at least, Government *could* redress it.

Another immediate cause of prostitution is to be found in the inadequate wages which multitudes of women, particularly needle-women, receive. They are—we will not say driven—but strongly tempted, to gain additional money enough to furnish them with the necessaries of life, by going into the streets. The field for female labour in England is almost confined to needle-work and domestic service. Multitudes of men are employed in shop-work, which *ought* to be done by women.

We do not pretend that we have remedies to propose for these evils; but it is a great thing, in endeavouring to apply a remedy to a disease, whether in the natural or the political body, to ascertain the real seat and cause of it.

Dr. Acton thinks, and with justice, that educated youths should be warned and advised by their moral guides and instructors of the ruinous nature and consequences of sensual indulgence. Instead of this, the subject of all others the most important to them, is scarcely ever alluded to. We will add, that the ministers of religion ought to make this matter the subject of their discourse from the pulpit. Why is the most ruinous and degrading of all vices to be passed over in silence?

People who never hear a vice alluded to are not unreasonably apt to think it a venial vice, or one that, if not conventionally permitted, is not to be severely condemned. But when Dr. Acton proposes (p. 177) that a man who seduces a woman should be obliged to pay 'a sum of money to the community, recoverable in the county court or superior court, at the suit of its engine, the union,'—we cannot agree with him. It is evident that he is proposing an enactment which will have no terror for the rich man, and will lessen the enormity of sin in the judgment of the woman.

Seduction ought to be rendered a crime in law: at present it is no crime. The law provides no penalty for it. Yet the man who really seduces a woman is a deeper villain, and commits a more cruel sin against domestic happiness, than the highwayman who lives by plunder on the road. But we must have done.

We

We have been unwillingly compelled to touch with brevity on matters of the highest import to the moral and social interests of the state; but we feel that a great point has been gained, inasmuch as the public mind has now assumed so wholesome a tone, that we can venture to treat this social evil as a legitimate subject of public discussion.

Art. VII.—*Liverpool Police Report*, 1857.

NO Institutions can more truly adopt 'Meliora' as their motto and watchword than Reformatory Schools; for they not only aim at rendering better, in the highest and holiest sense, the unfortunate boys and girls who are the subject of them,—better now, far better in their future life in this world, and infinitely better prepared for the eternal state;—but they have a direct bearing on the next generation, and through it, indirectly, on all future men.

This may seem an exaggerated statement to those who take a superficial view of the subject, or who regard Reformatory Schools only as the offspring of a recent popular movement zealously taken up by a few enthusiasts, and likely soon to share the fate of so many that have had their day and disappeared. But those who comprehend the full bearing of the question, and who have taken a personal share in the work, know full well that it is not so. They believe the words of Him who cannot lie—that just as much at the present day as four thousand years ago, the iniquities of the parents are visited on the children to the third and fourth generation; and will be so for ever, unless those who strive to be fellow-workers with Christ and God, do their very utmost, using every means that experience, and wisdom, and love can dictate, to *seek* and to *save* them that are spiritually lost.

The trustful faith in all that is good and holy which the word 'meliora' implies, is especially needed in the reformatory work. Such faith gives trust that every good seed sown by an earnest loving hand *will* be watered by the heavenly Father's dews, and warmed into life by His sun, and that, while daily watched and tended with prayerful care, it will receive an increase given by no human means;—that a small mustard-seed now, as truly as in the days of the Apostles, may become a large and beneficent tree, shadowing thousands. Such faith had Wichern, when with his mother he gathered two or three miserable children, the outcasts of society, into his 'rough house;'* now his spirit has gone forth,

* A German engraving of 'Das alte Rauhe Haus,' with its large overshadowing tree, and the inmates engaged under it in their daily work, has inscribed under it, in a fac-simile of Wichern's handwriting, the verse 'Luc xiii. 19.'

and

and those that have been saved, first through his faithful work, none may number. So did the venerable John Pounds continue for more than thirty years, with no help but the Divine Spirit within him and his own loving heart, to draw around him as many neglected young ones as his narrow room would hold: bystanders only wondered at the strange taste of the uncouth lame old cobbler; but he was really working out every principle which has now been found essential to the true action of Ragged Schools; and these have touched with Christ's hand of mercy, and will continue to touch, millions, rather than thousands. And when more recently, Sheriff Watson, undaunted by the apparent failure of his first Industrial School, because it did not reach the very class that needed its action, knew that his principle was right, and that he *must* overcome all hindrances in the way of doing his Master's work,—he had that same faith, though he probably little imagined that the system which he was then steadily developing would be carried out extensively and most beneficially, within no very long lapse of years, not only in his own, but in the sister country.

It is proposed in this series of papers, to state succinctly the actual position of the Reformatory movement, confining ourselves to such part of it as is directed especially to the young of the present generation, but embracing all Schools which aim at influencing a class of children, either in the way of *prevention* or of *cure, who, through the extreme poverty, vice, or negligence of their parents, are untouched by the educational movement of our country.* Our particular object will be what are commonly called Reformatory Schools, whether voluntary, or certified by Government for the legal detention of convicted children, embracing both boys and girls. Then, after having taken a general survey of the position of this movement in England, it is intended to enter into such practical details of various institutions, as may help those who either are, or purpose to be, fellow-workers in the cause.

A few preliminary remarks are, however, needed, for on this subject a clear and distinct idea of the nature of the evil we are attempting to remove, and of its causes, is especially needed to guide us in our attempts to remove it.

Reclamation from habits of theft, which are injurious to society, is the obvious intention of Reformatories; teaching habits of industry to begging and vagrant children, and giving them food because they cannot otherwise have it, is the general notion of an Industrial School; teaching in an inferior school little ragged children who are too poor and too miserable to go to the British and National Schools, is the prevalent idea of a Ragged School. The existing evils are commonly believed to be extreme poverty,

poverty, arising from various causes, a certain peculiar tendency to steal, and excessive ignorance. Hence, as there have been recently stated to be as many as four million children in England, who ought by their age to be at school, but who are not in attendance at any, the remedy proposed by some for this ignorance, is a compulsory rating for school purposes of the whole country, so that no child need be debarred by poverty from attending school. The remedies proposed for the *poverty* which is assigned as the cause of the wretchedness of the children vary with the political or philanthropic views of each individual: some suggest a better form of government, the removal of certain abuses, laws to restrain vicious indulgences which are the proximate causes of all the wretchedness; some, improved dwellings and various sanitary regulations. For the young thieves nothing can be done, now imprisoning them has been found to be expensive and useless, but to send them to a Reformatory, which possesses some nostrum for curing them of this very inconvenient moral disorder.

These remedies may or may not be good in themselves; but supposing them all to be excellent, they will not *alone* effect a cure of the evil, simply because they do not touch it, and are founded on a want of knowledge of the real nature of it.

It is perfectly true that gross ignorance and crime are usually found associated together. A striking illustration of this may be derived from a recent Liverpool police report, which contains educational statistics of 19,336 persons, who had been apprehended during the nine months ending Sept. 30, 1856.

Per-centage of those who can read and write well .		.	3·00
Ditto	ditto	imperfectly	41·4
Ditto	ditto	read only	7·0
Ditto	ditto	neither read nor write .	48·6
			100·

This per-centage is appallingly low, but it must by no means be regarded as a true indication of the state of education in the country, for we learn from the same table that nearly one-half of these apprehended persons were Irish, 826, or $\frac{1}{25}$th, were foreigners, not one-fourth natives of Liverpool, and the remainder from various parts of the British dominions. Yet with all deductions it is a fact which should awaken very serious reflection, that a large portion of the existing population of one of the most important towns in the empire is sunk in such deep ignorance, and is in a state of aggression on society, for in such a state, more or less, must we regard all those who require the intervention of the police to preserve good order. Nor is this an accidental or transient condition. 'With respect to the degree of instruction possessed by the persons taken into custody this year,' says Mr. Greig, the

head constable, in his official report, '*there does not appear to be any improvement:* thus confirming the opinions expressed in a former report, viz., the more one looks into these tables, the more evident it is *that the fruitful sources of crime are drunkenness and ignorance;* in fact, drunkenness gives to the police more than half their work.'

A corresponding statement respecting the connection of ignorance and crime was recently made by an American gentleman, who had means of forming a judgment from having occupied a high civil office in his own large and important town, as well as from having been led by circumstances to investigate the condition of other cities and states. In his town, he said, the Irish form about one-tenth of the population: they generally arrive in a state of extreme ignorance, and, though constituting so small a part of society, of the criminal population they form full *nine-tenths;* the educational status of that portion of the population being not more than from 3 to 5 per cent. who can read well. Now that this is by no means consequent on any especial national proclivity to crime is proved by the fact that, wherever the children of the Irish emigrants freely avail themselves of the benefits of the common schools, this tendency to crime disappears, and the Irish become undistinguishable from other Americans.

It is very probable that similar statistics might be obtained from other large towns besides Liverpool, proving that the class of persons, both young and old, who continually come under the notice of the police, and may, therefore, be considered to constitute the dangerous or criminal class of the community, are also profoundly ignorant. Such statements are familiar to us in the reports of gaol chaplains: the bulk of prisoners are unpossessed of any useful intellectual culture, unless they have acquired it in the gaol. Educational statistics from the various Reformatories out of London, up to April 1857, lead to a similar result (see Table, p. 83). Out of 1,174 children, of whom there were returns, 551, or about one-half, had no education at all; 369 had a little, but not sufficient to read the Bible or to write a letter; and 259 only had enough to read the Testament tolerably, and to write and cipher a little. An analysis of the returns leads to many points suggesting further consideration. About one-fourth of the boys could read the Testament, and were classed as 'good;' but only one-sixth of the girls. In some of the boys' reformatories the number is much higher; in the 'Akbar' frigate it is more than one-third of the whole number, and at Hardwicke more than one-half—the reason of this will be hereafter noticed; while at St. Bernard's Agricultural Colony it is not one-twelfth, at Brook Green one-fifteenth, and at the Arno's Court Girls' Reformatory one-tenth: without these the average would be higher. Now these facts prove that ignorance and crime are frequent

Educational Statistics of Reformatories out of London.

Reformatories.	Number.	Age.				Length of time at school.							Educated.		
		Under 10 years.	10—12 years.	12—14 years.	Above 14 years.	None.	Under 1 year.	Under 2 years.	Under 3 years.	Under 4 years.	Under 5 years.	Above 5 years.	None.	Little.	Good.
Boys.															
Akbar Frigate	101	1	4	23	73	..	15	23	25	27	11	..	38	20	43
Exeter Reformatory	33	1	4	16	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	21	3
Kingswood	97	16	36	29	20	14	33	16	17	10	2	5	54	25	18
Hardwicke	139	2	18	49	70	2	6	8	3	9	2	10	14	46	79
St. Bernard's Colony	166	4	20	36	106	37	68	39	..	14	8	..	110	43	13
Brook Green Colony	74	..	11	35	28	47	13	6	4	1	1	2	51	18	5
Buxton	32	1	2	8	21	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	9	5
Northampton	19	2	4	6	7	..	7	7	1	3	1	..	4	9	6
Newcastle-on-Tyne	80	8	20	42	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	68	12	5
Lattley	97	2	4	27	64	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	36	47	14
Stoke Farm	33	..	6	19	8	..	4	9	6	3	..	..	3	20	10
Woodberry Hill	32	..	2	16	14	..	8	..	1	2	3	10	10	13	9
Calder Farm	44	1	8	13	22	5	7	1	9	7	4	11	22	10	12
Castle Howard	37	..	..	32	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	10	5
Total Boys	984	38	139	351	460	105	161	109	66	76	32	38	459	303	227
Girls.															
Red Lodge	70	7	20	30	13	16	29	3	6	3	2	11	40	16	14
Birmingham	35	1	9	15	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	18	5
Toxteth Park	17	..	..	10	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	9	5
Allesley Farm	8	1	..	2	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	5	2
Arno's Court	60	1	12	18	29	..	24	18	7	5	..	5	36	18	6
Total Girls	190	10	41	75	64	16	53	21	13	8	2	16	92	66	32
Grand Total	1,174	18	180	426	524	121	204	130	79	84	34	54	551	369	259

Educational Condition on Admission.

None.—Not able to read 2nd Irish books, or even easy words; most commonly barely able to tell letters.—*General ignorance.*
Little.—Able to read 2nd Irish books, and form letters in writing.
Good.—Able to read Testament and 3rd Irish books with *fluency* and *intelligence*, to write and cipher a little.

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quent concomitants; but they do not prove that either is the cause of the other, still less that ignorance is the origin of crime. The reason that the statistics of Hardwicke Reformatory are so high is, that this school contains many of the cleverest scholars of the National Schools of Cheltenham, who, with their superior talents, have had peculiar power in luring over others to their own evil ways. It is the fact also that in many other Reformatories the very worst and most dangerous young persons, both boys and girls, are those who have had a superior education, and some of whom belong to a higher class of society. It is the experience of gaol chaplains that the worst and most hardened culprits are those who have had great advantages of education; of this the Rev. J. Clay, of Preston, gives a striking instance in his reports; and the criminal annals of the last few years give fearful warnings that no amount of intellectual or even religious training is a complete preservative against crime.

Nor is extreme poverty in itself the cause of crime. An intimate knowledge of two large Reformatories—one for boys, the other for girls, from their commencement—leads us to the certainty that the crime for which the child has been convicted has in no case been the result of actual want. Indeed, the wretched condition of the children who attend Ragged Schools is to be attributed, in most cases, not to the real unavoidable poverty of the parents, but to that miserable condition which springs from the gratification of the animal passions. It follows, then, that the removal of ignorance by any number of schools, or of poverty by any amount of pecuniary help, would in no way lessen the evil.

The great and real spring of the immense amount of evil with which we are striving to grapple, lies in the deep corruption which must be infused into the hearts of the young by the impure influences with which they have been surrounded from infancy, causing an ignorance of all that is right and good, and in comparison with which book knowledge and intellectual acquirements are of comparatively little consequence. The following Table is a specimen of the kind of homes from which young persons come forth criminals, as well as ignorant of everything good. It is the result of a house-to-house visit to the homes of 91 boys who were in the Liverpool Gaol at Walton, July 4th, 1856. The nine cases here given are a sample of the whole. (*Vide* Table, p. 85.)

Now, such moral and spiritual condition existing in the child, as is the inevitable consequence of the parental training he has received from infancy, can it be wondered at that he is early drawn aside by the innumerable temptations to evil which beset him in every direction? The Liverpool police report, to which allusion has already been made, states, that 'in this town there are 1,445 public-houses, and 896 beer-houses; 714 known houses of

REPORTS of a House-to-House Visit made to the Parents of the Boys named in this List who were in the Walton Gaol, 4th July, 1856.

No.	Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Number of Times in Custody.	INFORMATION RELATIVE TO PARENTS AND GUARDIANS.
1	J. L.	16	None	4	Parents residing at Bevington-hill; honest, industrious people. This boy incorrigible; his ruin traceable to the notorious Hannah Carr, of Ben Jonson-street, whose family and connections are all thieves.
2	T. J., *alias* J. W. .	16	,,	4	Father, Richard W., a drunken debauched man, lived with the mother of this boy; she had several children. She being a profligate, the children turned out thieves. He is now married to a decent woman, who will not allow the first children to remain in the house, lest they contaminate her own.
3	J. C., *alias* J. McG.	15	,,	2	The father, Patrick McG., a bricklayer, lives in Addison-street; married a second time; no care taken of children; allowed to go and mix with bad characters.
4	R. G.	16	,,	3	Mother, Mary G., Wright-street. A notoriously bad woman; encourages her son to steal. Harbours other lads, and receives whatever plunder they bring.
5	M. R.	15	,,	4	Father, Peter R., a bricklayer, 8 Court, Grenville-street; out of work; in distress. Large family. Mother seems anxious about her children. The boy's fall traceable to Mary Grant and Mary Fitzpatrick's houses in Wright-street.
6	W. R., or B. . .	14	,,	4	Cannot find this boy's parents at present; but no care has been taken. He was allowed to run wild, and at the house of the queen of demons, namely, old Granny Hunt, 55, Preston-street, was his home, where a number of other lads resort. This old woman's children and grandchildren are all bad.
7	H. K.	15	,,	2	Parents notoriously bad; they live at 9, Eldon-street. Their children all bad, and their house an iniquitous harbour for juveniles of both sexes; receive the proceeds of all plunder brought in.
8	H. B., *alias* T. E.	16	,,	3	Parents, Thomas E. and his wife, residing in a cellar, 78, Henderson-street, Park, are bad characters; children obliged to steal for their support; one son transported.
9	T. McJ. . . .	15	,,	4	Stepfather and own mother living, 6 Laurence-street. He bears a good name, but she is careless, and took no interest until it became too late. The boy frequented a notorious house in St. Martin-street. The woman in the cellar equally bad.

of ill-fame, ready to ensnare all young girls who have no proper guardianship; 431 'marine-stores' so called, which are in reality places where the products of all kinds of pilfering may be safely disposed of, without unpleasant questions being asked; and 271 old-clothes' shops, which are generally places of a similar description.' Besides these we have a MS. report of 46 houses known to the police, where young thieves may lodge and dispose of their plunder; where the children of the family are trained from generation to generation in dishonest practices; and where restless young persons, who have escaped from parental care, may be taught how to support themselves. The following is a fair sample of the whole: it may be observed, that in the case of only one-half have the heads of the family been imprisoned, though the number of young persons whom they have trained to a life of vice can hardly be computed. (*Vide* Table, p. 87.)

Now, we would solemnly ask, Does juvenile vagrancy, vagabondism, and crime of various kinds abound, *because* there are these various haunts of vice? or is not the real state of the case that these unhappy children, who are lured away by them, have never had implanted or cherished within them those virtuous principles, and that fear of the Lord, which would be the true safeguard against them? How is it that in that very town of Liverpool thousands of children are continually passing them with no desire to enter them, and grow up untouched, uninjured by the pollution around them, shielded, as was the lady in Milton's divine poem, by inward purity? And this is true, not only of children of the higher classes, who may be supposed unlikely to be tempted by vicious indulgences, but also those of the honest working classes. The writer of this has known young boys reared in the very midst of the worst parts of a large city, where sights and sounds of vice encompassed the home on every side, and yet passing through them to their daily duties entirely unscathed, and feeling nothing but disgust and detestation of what they saw around them. They were not tempted by penny theatres, dancing-rooms, resorts for gambling, or any other of the incitements to evil which have allured thousands to a life of infamy. It is evident, that in these cases the spirit within was fortified against the evil without, by the good implanted and fostered by home influences, and that where these are corrupt the young are ever prone to fall into those vices for which the disgraceful houses, already mentioned, afford such facility and stimulus.

The work of Reformatories and kindred institutions is, then, to supply to the young under their charge, by the individual influence of devoted Christian persons, what the home ought to have supplied to them, but has not. In thus taking the true place of a parent, every possible agency must be used which will not only supply

A List of Notorious Harbours for Juveniles of both Sexes, and Reports of themselves and their Children.

No.	Name, Married and Unmarried.	Number of Children.	Occupation.	Convicted.	Character and Remarks.
1	C. B.	4	Thieving	Mother	This woman and her children have all been committed for thieving; she receives their plunder, and harbours others.
2	Philip B. and his wife.	4	,,	..	This man and woman keep two houses, one for young thieves to sleep in, and the other for the receipt of their plunder. His children mix with the thieves.
3	Bridget S. . . .	2	,,	..	This woman's two daughters are bad. Harbours young thieves, and receives their plunder.
4	J. C. and wife .	4	,,	Parents	This man and woman both committed for receiving. Harbours young thieves; receives their plunder; their children mixing with them.
5	S. C. and wife .	4	,,	Mother	A notoriously bad place; both bad. Frequent robberies committed in the house. Juveniles induced to come and bring their plunder.
6	Mrs. C. . . .	2	,,	Mother in gaol.	This woman excels in villany. Her house is a second hell; her own children are now going in her track.
7	S. J. and man .	3	,,	..	This woman has no children of her own, but keeps her sister's children. She induces all the lads and girls she can to bring plunder to her house, and harbours them therein.
8	M. C.	1	,,	..	A receptacle for young thieves; her own daughter and herself thieves too. Her house a harbour for young thieves and their plunder.
9	J. C.	1	,,	Mother	Mother and daughter thieves. Her daily work is trying to induce children to bring plunder to her house.
10	Mrs. L. . . .	3	,,	..	Her three boys thieves; receives their plunder, and lives on it. Her house a harbour for young thieves, who take their plunder there.
11	J. A. and M. A. .	3	,,	Both	Father and mother in gaol for thieving; all their children thieves, and their house a harbour for young thieves and their plunder.
14	M. W.	1	,,	Mother	Mother and daughter thieves. Her house is a harbour for young thieves.

supply

supply what is deficient and sow good seed, but which will eradicate noxious weeds. Every effort must also be put in force to remove those evil influences, and those houses dealing in moral poison, which tend to ensnare the weak. Let all who are working for the welfare of their fellow-creatures continue to do so in such way as is most consistent with their own powers and inclinations; let educational efforts be encouraged, as well as sanitary reform, improved dwellings, and other excellent movements; but let not any reliance be placed on them to remove the growing evil until the *inner spirit* is touched, and the pure aspirations engendered which may be fostered by them. And most of all, let the temperance advocates strive, like John the Baptist of old, to prepare the way for the extending of Christ's kingdom, by removing from among us the greatest of all incitements to crime, the curse of our land.

Art. VIII.—Keeping up Appearances; *a Glimpse of Family History.*

HOW completely a fit of sickness tending to death alters one's views of life! Here am I, sitting in my easy chair at the open window of my chamber, able once more to hold a pen, to allay the fever of my mind by putting my thoughts on paper, to soothe my feelings by writing them down. If the maxim that 'like cures like' be true, I may indulge my grief and find alleviation. As to cure, either of mind or body, I both know my own symptoms so well, and see clearly, under the calm exterior of my physician, his surprise that I have lasted so long. So, while I can, I will write for you, my dear sister—now my only relative,—a record of some passages of my life, assured that, though years have passed since we parted, the history of your brother's experiences, written from his dying chamber, will meet with sympathy, undeserved it may be, and the record may be useful. A shipwrecked mariner does well to make a chart, if possible, of the coast on which his bark has foundered.

What was it, Mary, that clouded the brightness of our childhood's home, and brought an element of care to mar the time that should have been gay and careless? You may say it was our parents' narrow income: I answer, 'No!' Many of our neighbours had means as limited as ours. I see it all now: sickness has cleared my mental vision; the scales have fallen from my eyes; my life from its outset lies clear before me, with all its mistakes, its errors, its sins: the first inherited, or involuntary to some extent, yet tending full surely to the last. The bane of our family, to speak conventionally, was its '*gentility*.' What straits our poor mother endured to make our father's half-pay as a captain, and her own small annuity, do the surface-work of a good fortune! They must live in good society, as they called it, therefore the dear, tawdry town of South Magna was preferred to many cheap and pleasant districts, where a small fixed income would have comfortably reared and educated all five of us.

Who calls childhood the happiest time of life? That depends on whether it is really childhood or a forced prematurity. I remember days and weeks of pending economy, when there was only fire enough in the nursery grate to mock us shivering, ill-clad mortals with a thought of warmth never to be realised; only food enough to whet the sharpness of our appetites; when our poor mother preached us down with her social fictions, and reviled all hunger, all outdoor sports, all society below a given range as 'vulgar.' A tame, rigid, formal mannerism, false to the very core, was 'genteel.' How I hated those

those two words! And yet sometimes nature gave our poor mother a twinge when she paid the wine-merchant's yearly bill. I have seen a glistening in her eyes like the haze of unshed tears; for the amount of that bill would have provided comforts that her children sorely needed; but then her parties would have suffered in comparison with her neighbours', her visiting-list have been curtailed, and our father's pride and position both have been touched. So, pinch the children, screw the servants, grind the humble tradespeople, but by all and every means 'keep up appearances!'

As you were the youngest, Mary, you may not have surmised what I, as the eldest, know now, and more than suspected then—that it was this curse of gentility that caused our eldest sister to marry that miserable old cripple Dejaum, with a soul as deformed as his body. Death was merciful to poor Alice, and opened a door of escape for her—the only safe one for a wife. And yet Alice was better off than Harriett: she went brokenhearted to an honourable grave, while who can tell the sufferings of Harriett? Dear, lovely, curly-headed Harry, the best representative of happy childhood our family ever had, adopted at twelve by our Uncle Trounce's widow, and after ten years' watching, waiting, worrying, humouring all her aunt's whims, and bearing all her insults, left penniless just after our last remaining parent died! No home to go to, unfitted for every useful pursuit in life. Ah, Mary! before we blame her, let us remember her ten years' trial of such cruelties as women—ay, honourable women—inflict on their sister woman. You do not know the sequel of Harriett's history: I do; and I solemnly say she was more 'sinned against than sinning.'

As I sit here, in this lonely room, sick and childless, attended only by hirelings, it seems sad to me that our parents, dying as they did within a few months of each other, should have been so little regretted by their children; but I believe if parents are to see kindly feelings and holy affections they must first manifest them. Everything in our family was sacrificed for show. How our mother bore the harass for years is the real marvel; not that she died suddenly of unsuspected yet long-seated heart-disease, and her husband, six months after, ostensibly of brain-fever, the dismal product of drink, debt, and duns. There's no denying it, Mary, we did not deeply mourn them. Tom got his Indian appointment; did credit to the gentility of his training by mixing in the best—*i.e.* most expensive—society; was considered a most gentlemanly fellow; and but for that unfortunate duel about a heartless coquette, who kept her footing on a precipice, as a dancer poises on a slack wire by a skill more painful than pleasant, caring not who turns giddy so she is safe—but for that fatal duel, I might yet have had my only brother and my early friend.

Your own happy marriage, Mary, could never have taken place in your parents' lifetime. A farmer's wife in Canada! I think I hear our poor mother say, 'Did I give you your genteel accomplishments and elegant training for such a lot?' Ah, my dear! I suppose you have done well in your prosperous home, in spite of your fashionable accomplishments, and not because of them. I am thankful that one of our house has escaped the doom of the family. Now for myself: after the long intervals in our correspondence, I take up my history where you ceased to know it—with my leaving my father's house, while Tom and you were yet children.

My being articled as pupil to Dr. Bibington, of London, was my own choice. The premium was paid out of the 500*l.* my grandmother left me; that is, it was in part paid—two, instead of three hundred. But I made myself useful to my master; and though often sorely mortified at the disadvantage I suffered by the residue of my premium not being forthcoming, I was suffered to remain with Dr. B., and pick up instruction in the profession for myself, and was treated rather with indifference than unkindness. Nothing of personal interest occurred while I was a pupil, except that just after I passed my examination, and obtained my certificate, Dr. Bibington, having made money, grew careless of his patients and attentive to his bottle, and at length relinquished practice in time to save his reputation. I was retained as an assistant to his successor—a general practitioner, named Brace, who having a larger family than the house would well accommodate, I was permitted to take lodgings in a house situated

situated in the street at the back of our premises, and to which it was arranged a bell from our surgery should communicate. I am particular in these details, for every incident at this period of my life is indelibly imprinted on my mind. In that humble but comfortable lodging I felt, for the first and last time, the meaning of the word 'home.' There I met poor Lilian—'little Lily,' as the old folks who kept the house called her. Truly the name suited her. She was a slender, fragile, fair-haired girl, with a remarkable purity, not only of complexion but expression. I have seen many more showy beauties than 'little Lily,' but I have never seen any that did not look somewhat coarse in comparison with her delicacy of shape, feature, colour. There was a harmony about her of voice, look, and manner that was most winning, and a diffidence, so appealing in its sweetness, that won Lily all the more notice that she seemed to shrink from any. But why need I dwell on the graces of this modest flower? I had not lived long in the house of old Hoskins and his wife, when I found myself thinking too often of their niece for my own peace or for hers. I amused and gratified myself by lending her books and drawing her out into conversation, for Lily was not without education, and I found her mind was not unworthy of the pure and delicate casket that enshrined it. While I was enjoying a fool's paradise—too selfishly happy in the present to think of consequences either to Lily or myself—considering all was safe and honourable as long as no word of love was spoken between us, as if words were needed when every look was eloquent, I was suddenly roused from my dream of bliss one evening by the appearance of my landlady, who bluntly gave me notice to leave. I asked an explanation, and with a torrent of angry words she let me know that Lily had that day refused an honourable offer of marriage from a young shopkeeper in the neighbourhood—an offer backed by the goodwill of both my stormy informant and her husband. 'She shall tramp—the ungrateful minx! I've plenty more nieces; I'll have no colleaging and shameless goings on in my house; a decent man that will make her his wife is not good enough for miss since you've filled her head with your flatteries; so the sooner you suit yourself the better.'

It was in vain I tried to appease her. If I protested I was innocent of any evil intention—'Why had I gained the poor girl's affections, then?' was her answer. Too gratified in my secret heart to reply, my silence was construed into guilt. 'Your beggarly pride won't let you make her your wife,' said the virago, as she bounced from the room; and then it occurred to me whether the whole scene had not been got up to urge me to commit myself in some way by explanations or promises. The instant this thought flashed upon me it steeled my heart. '*I* to be blustered into a connexion below me;' for you see, Mary, the world was strong in me, and with all my love I held the conventional idea that this pure, lovely girl, with her wealth of Nature's best gifts, was, by the accident of station, my inferior. I dare hardly own to you, without an appeal to your forgiveness, that when the word 'wife' was uttered in the coarse voice of Lily's aunt, a shock ran through me. *I*, a gentleman by birth, education, profession, to make this girl my wife—no, never! Then a moment after a thrill of agonised feelings shook me. Oh, that I could—that I dared! I strode up and down the room, and seemed to feel that soft hand on my arm, those meek, blue eyes raised to mine, and for a moment the hard world was obscured by that sweet vision. At that instant I was restored to what I called reason by a very matter-of-fact interruption. The servant of the house brought me a letter with a mourning rim. It was the gloomy missive conveying tidings of my mother's death.

In the revulsion of feeling that followed, as, unable to sleep that night, I paced my chamber, I remembered, with self-reproach, that I had an unanswered letter of hers in my desk, the last, it proved, that she ever wrote. In it she had boasted of my sister Alice's wealthy marriage, and added these words:—'I hope Alice's early marriage will not unsettle the rest of my family. Hers was a most prudent step—a good establishment, and everything your father and I could approve. An early marriage for a daughter may be wise, but for a son it is often utter ruin. A young man to marry without a fortune or an established position is madness. Better any drag than a wife and children pulling a man down to poverty.'

These

These words seemed clothed with authority now that the hand that wrote them was cold in death; and if the struggle in my heart had nearly sent me to Lily's feet, this letter steadied me. A hurried journey to attend my mother's funeral, my father's helplessness, and all the family troubles I saw looming in the future, changed the current of my thoughts, and for a time put aside my personal concerns. Nevertheless, in the stillness of the night, when unbidden reflections rushed upon me, I was convinced that I had expressed by my manner such interest and admiration as had won that gentle heart, and that I had not at first shown respectful reserve in my manner to her, nor at last an honourable candour. True, I had not committed myself; there was no worldly creed to condemn me—I had preserved *appearances*.

I tried to think that Lily would soon forget me; but when I reached that thought, my reverie became too painful, and I strove to rush away into other reflections. During my fortnight's leave of absence, I was glad to hear from Mr. Brace that I should for the future reside at his house. The boys were to go to school, and I was to be wholly domesticated in his family. The heads of the household were Mr. and Mrs. Brace, and an elderly widow sister, named Brierly. On my return, I soon found, from the manner of both ladies, that they had heard, with such garnishing of the facts as rumour and malice supply, of the circumstances that preceded my quitting my former lodgings. A common and hateful phase of female character was revealed by these ladies. The staple topic of conversation between them, when I was present, was the craft of certain sections of their own sex—how young men were inveigled by designing girls; and though, as I afterwards learned, they had actually the belief that I had the seducer's guilt upon my soul, I became, in consequence, an object of interest to them. While no report of evil attached to me, they had treated me with indifference. The hateful charge, spread by a coarse virago, that I had been too intimate with her niece, made me a sort of hero in their eyes; yet they prided themselves on their intelligence and virtue. Surely it is a poor, half-hearted virtue that consists merely in hatred of vice; but when women seek to enhance their own reputation by hating the victims of vice while they smile upon the victimisers, it is a mockery that might well 'make angels weep;' and yet how much of the boasted virtue, flaunted in the highways of the world, is of this rotten texture!

You must not suppose I had given up Lilian without an inquiry as to her fate. I learned that, during my absence from town, she had persisted in refusing the match her aunt favoured, and was, in consequence, sent away in disgrace. She had obtained employment at a fashionable dressmaker's, and, to use my informant's phrase, was 'doing well.'

That winter I employed myself most diligently in my profession. I had nothing to expect from my father. Even the residue of the legacy that belonged to me had melted away in the family struggle to keep up appearances. So there was nothing before me but work, and to that I was not disinclined if my heart had been at ease. In vain I tried to banish Lily from my thoughts. Family cares, absence, sorrow, could not obliterate her image; but the thought of a future of poverty unnerved me like a coward as I was. I refused the heart that I had silently won to love me at the shrine of worldliness. How I loathed the hollow talk of the two women whom I met daily at table—'modest matrons,' as they called themselves! How pure and virginal was the face I remembered compared with these hard censurers of their sex, who could talk glibly about the political disabilities of women! with the cant of philosophy, could boast of the mental equality of the sexes, and clamour loudly enough for some imaginary rights, and yet be exacting to their servants, penurious to their needle-women, and coldly insolent to the harrassed fag of a music mistress who came to teach the little girls 'the piano.' In short, I saw then, what my subsequent observation has confirmed, that, let a woman have to earn her bread as a menial, a tradeswoman, or a professional, her greatest difficulties and humiliations arise from the treatment she receives from the rich and idle of her own sex, particularly if they call themselves philosophers.

Our father's death that winter, followed by your voyage to our relatives in Canada, and poor Tom's departure for

for India, was such a complete break up of home ties, that I needed the salutary toils of my laborious profession to preserve me from despondency. One wild March night I was called up to a case of sudden illness. Mr. Brace was particularly asked for, but he was detained by another case; and I accompanied the messenger, a shabby-looking page, to the house of a French modiste, whose name I had seen in our book, and whose 'house of business' was in a fashionable street near Cavendish-square. Never shall I forget the scene I there witnessed. I had beheld many an abode of filth and crime, where pain and misery seemed suited to the environment: but in this large and showy house, the strong contrasts magnified the horror. I went up a handsome staircase richly carpeted, passed the open doors of a suite of elegant drawing-rooms used as show-rooms ; then through an upper floor of bed or private rooms; and then up a bare and dirty staircase to an upper floor of two large but low work-rooms—one for milliners, the other for dress-makers. Both were blazing with gas-lights at three o'clock in the morning, and stifling with hot exhausted air, that, to one coming in from the keenness of the night, was positively sickening. These rooms were filled with smartly-dressed, pallid, weary-looking girls, seated round large tables, that appeared like tulip beds, so brilliant were the gorgeous tints of silk, and satin, and velvet on which the slender nervous fingers of the workers were rapidly employed. As I passed along, and many heads were momentarily raised to give an anxious furtive glance at 'the doctor,' I noted the swollen eyelids, the dim or glassy eye, the stooping form, the livid or hectic complexion that the contrast of the bright colours around made actually ghastly. A wiry, middle-aged woman, when I appeared, rose from a table with a gesture of impatience, and in a rasping voice, that suited her features, curtly apologised for bringing me through the workroom, and preceded me up a short narrow staircase that led immediately to two bed-rooms above, saying, as she went, 'When any of our young people are ill, we put them in another part of the house; but this is a fit, or something of the sort, and we could not move her.' Some stifled moans and a sound of struggling indicated, as I reached the room, the corner where my patient lay. Never had I seen so crowded a bed-room. Bedsteads were put round the sides, the foot-board of one forming the head-board of another, like a single tier of berths on board a ship, with this difference, the beds were not so clean, and there was no open space in the centre of the apartment, for a row of four beds foot-to-head along the middle of the room intersected it, leaving two narrow avenues on either side, by which the beds along the walls were reached. This room was in the roof of the house, and the sloping ceiling hardly allowed me to stand upright as I crept along to my patient. A sky-light that would not open was the only window, and the hot air from the work-room below ascended in stifling vapours. Three or four frightened girls were holding the sufferer as she writhed in the throes of an epileptic fit. I tried, before I touched the patient, to open the sky-light, and, failing, I very unceremoniously broke a couple of panes of glass; and had soon the satisfaction of being able to breathe myself, and to afford relief to the sick girl. My conductress partly ordered the young people around her to go to their work, adding, by way of explanation to me,—

'The drawing-room is on Thursday, and that makes us so busy; we must work night and day till it comes; and there's always some troublesome young people who give way to fits or some nonsense or other.'

'This is no case of "giving way," in your sense,' I said.

'I have never anything of the kind myself,' she replied shortly, adding, 'Why did not Mr. Brace come himself? Mademoiselle Sacqui likes the young ladies of her establishment to be attended by your principal.'

I was busy with my patient, and made no other reply than to ask for vinegar and cold water, and to state that I should remain some time; on which she retired, and soon sent one of the household servants, who I could see was peevish with being called from her bed to assist me.

Consciousness slowly came to the sufferer. She uttered one name with a kind of plaintive call :—

'Rachel! dear Rachel! are you here, dear? Do come, O Rachel, do!'

'Who is it she asks for?' I inquired.

'Oh,

'Oh, it's her sister,' replied the servant.

'Well, then, fetch the sister; it will soothe her when she recovers perfect consciousness.'

'Please, sir, I can't fetch her sister. She's gone—a shameful creetur!' she added, bridling.

'Gone!'

'Yes, sir; gone upon the streets, she and one of the day-workers, as they calls Lee—Lily Lee—a pretty lily indeed!'

I was mute with the shock, and the woman continued spitefully—

'It's the way of these fine misses—they disgraces theirselves and the establishment, as missus says. Every season in the busy time some of 'em goes. For all they holds their heads above us servants, their pride comes down.'

Hardly knowing what I did, I commanded 'silence,' and dismissed this piece of granite in woman's form, and remained until my patient slept, though, at times, starting and murmuring the name of Rachel.

On the very next bed, undisturbed by all the noise of fits or voices, lay a young girl dressed, sleeping the deep, death-like slumber of exhaustion. Her feet, which hung over the side of the bed, were so swollen that the ankles puffed over the slight slippers she had seemingly been too tired to throw off. There was exhaustion in every limb, and the pallor of death on the worn face that seemed still as a stone.

Retracing my steps through the work-room so ghastly in its brightness, where cups of strong coffee were being served round, an odour of gin mingling with its aroma, I descended the stairs, and was leaving the house, when a diminutive, crooked woman stepped from a recess in the hall, and spoke to me. She had a basin of water and a sponge in her hand, and seemed to have been bathing her head and eyes.

'Is poor Milly Lockwood in any danger?' she said.

'A relapse would be most dangerous,' I answered; adding, 'her frame is not only exhausted with fatigue, but her mind has sustained a shock.'

'Oh, yes,' was the whispered reply; 'she and her only sister came here last autumn, as improvers from a country-house of business; and Rachel, the pretty one, has been decoyed away. Their mother is a widow, and Milly has been distracted ever since it happened.'

I forced myself to say, 'How long is it since?'

'Oh, last Sunday she disappeared. It was the first Sunday for a month that Rachel had been out. She was a giddy country girl—very sleepy at nights—and did not settle down well here. She was restless, and made blunders in her work—and between ourselves, our forewoman nagged at her a good deal.'

'Was she the only'—I could not finish the sentence, my tongue seemed like a hot rasp; but my inquiry was anticipated.

'No, Miss Lee was with her—a little spiritless mope, that seemed to hear everything, and was so quiet, but "still water runs—"' a little dry nervous cough interrupted the quotation.

'Poor souls!' I involuntarily exclaimed, 'how is it possible for any of you to bear this life of evil—this murderous work?'

'Oh, I'm used to it—I grew up in it, and a bit of opium now and then keeps me up. And I make a bargain to have my Sundays, and I sleep right through them—a good eighteen or twenty hours—and, thank God, I'm no beauty!'

So saying, she left me, and I found myself in the streets—in the chilly dawn of a bleak morning. I looked up to the faint streak of light in the east—to the pale glimmer of the fading morning star, and the words, 'How long, O Lord, how long!' came, I know not how, into my mind, as I thought of the despairing victims of the Moloch of fashion pent up in that fatal workroom, stifled in that dormitory, and rushing, by inevitable yearning for change, to the wild delirium of guilt, and the yawning jaws of a swifter death.

But Lily—pretty, timid, gentle Lily! Oh! it must be a hideous lie! That fawn-like grace to batten on the public streets, to feed the base appetite of brutes in human form, and kindle even on earth the fires of hell! No, no—my Lily! it is impossible.

'*My* Lily!'—what right had I to call her *mine*, even to myself? *I*, who had trifled with her feelings, won her love, wounded her maiden pride, and left her to bear the anguish of neglect, without one word of explanation of the slight, or sorrow for the wrong. How false, under the gathering light of the clear morning

morning sky, seemed the poor sophistry I had so often uttered to myself—'I never spoke of love—I never wronged her—the seducer's guilt is not mine.' Ah! I won her heart—selfishly won it—played with it, and threw it away at the world's anticipated rebuke. For Lily there remained no possibility of a marriage of affection — no home in prospect to cheer the toils of youth. Alienated from her friends—humbled in her womanly feelings by a sense of rejected love—despairing of future good—a choice of evil was all this world contained for her, as she read it with eyes turned earthward; and in a fatal hour, at the promptings of some fiend, she chose the worst evil and the bitterest doom that can await 'the suffering sex.' Yet from that hour Lily was avenged. Remorse gnawed at my heart, embittered my temper, and poisoned every healthy source of enjoyment.

I expressed to Mr. Brace my indignation and disgust at the scene I had witnessed. He gave a careless laugh, and replied,—

'Oh, my good fellow, a medical man's business is to cure his patient, and not to to puzzle himself about the recondite causes, and the moral aspects of cases. We must take the world as we find it. The rights of people the state must settle—their sins the clergy must attend to—their sickness is our affair—and we must make the best of it.'

And perhaps his creed of making the best of it—for himself—prompted his never again permitting me to go to that fashionable scene of slavery. But I heard that Milly Lockwood was removed to her widowed mother's home, and suffered a relapse of her disorder, that ended in making her a burden to herself and others for the rest of her days.

The summer after these events, London was visited by cholera, and I had scarcely recovered the fatigue of this, when our sister Harriett, by the death of her capricious aunt, was left destitute. At first, neither she nor I thought the loss of fortune an irreparable evil; for Harriett was engaged to be married to a man of property, and was, at the time of my aunt's unexpected death, visiting the family of her betrothed. As soon, however, as they learned that Harriett was portionless, the family interfered to prevent the long-sanctioned union. 'It would be the height of imprudence,' they said, 'to marry. How impossible to maintain a house in the style to which both had been accustomed! and, therefore'—Oh, I hate to write the paltry, heartless reasoning! suffice it, Harriett came to London, and I placed her as a boarder in a respectable house at Kensington, until some plan could be decided on; and then came the bitter consequences of the showy folly in which the poor girl had been reared. She had received 'a genteel education,' that is, she knew enough to make a display of a variety of graceful acquirements, and nothing thoroughly. It seems to me there's a class left completely out of the improved systems of education—the class above the small traders and decent operatives—whose children, if kept at school long enough, can have first-rate instruction; while those above them in the social scale keep to the tawdry superficialities of the third or fourth-rate boarding-school, and are turned out upon society very charming, it may be, but utterly helpless and useless in the battle of life. Harriett, who had been admired and followed when she was thought her aunt's heiress, was pronounced fit for nothing. Her dependent life had generated indolent habits, and her wrongs made her not only melancholy, but peevish. Used to admiration, she pined for it; unused to exertion, she loathed it. While at Kensington, she formed the acquaintance of a lady of fascinating manners, and apparently affluent position; after a few weeks she went to reside with her as companion. I had heard such favourable accounts from Harriett of this lady, that I was satisfied—nay, more—pleased. Mary! this woman was a decoy—a harpy who lived on the shame and ruin of her own sex. From the time Harriett entered into what I was led to believe was an honourable engagement, I saw no more of my sister!

Three years passed; I still retained my situation, and performed mechanically the routine of my duties, but hope and enterprise were gone. My health had been shaken by mental troubles; still I was a useful plodder to my employer. I had never, by night or day, seen poor Lily. Her aunt and uncle had gone soon after I ceased to be their lodger, and their house was occupied by Lily's rejected suitor, and the happy-looking wife whom he had found to console him for his first disappointment.

ment. Often and often did I ask myself, 'What can have become of her?' and the thought that she was dead, was the most satisfactory conclusion my mind presented.

One bitter night, during the winter of 1854–5, I was returning home late, when I came very suddenly on a muffled-up figure at the corner of our street, looking up to the light that burned over our surgery-door. I heard the laborious breathing of this poor creature before I reached her. She paused, as if about to speak to me, and then fled wildly down the street. I was startled at the time, but the incident soon passed out of my thoughts. My bed-room was over the surgery, and a few nights after I was awoke by hearing a violent cough under my window. I shivered in my bed as I thought of the bitter weather, and of sick and houseless wanderers. The following night, at nearly the same hour, I again heard the dismal sound. It was very light, for a fall of snow lay on the ground, and the moon was high in the heavens. I rose, and went down through the surgery into the street. My steps fell so silently on the snow, that I came to the recess at the side of the door without being heard, and putting my hand on the shoulder of a crouched-up form, raised the heap of misery to its feet. I slipped half-a-crown into the almost lifeless hand of what seemed a child in size and stature, and said, 'There, get a lodging—at the peril of your life stay here no longer; and if you'll come to the surgery before ten in the morning, I'll see what can be done for your cough.' There was a gasping, choking sound while I spoke—I removed my hand—a sharp cry—sudden, shrill—strong as death, rent its way from the hollow chest, and the form fell to the ground! As I stooped, I heard a bubbling groan, and by the light of the moon, I saw that a crimson stream dabbled the snow at my feet. The poor creature had broken a blood-vessel. I lifted her up, and carried her into the surgery, the blood still gushing from her mouth. To call for assistance, and to render every aid, was the work of the next few minutes; but judge my horror, when the masses of light hair fell back from her face, and her eyes kindled with an expiring gleam, in this emaciated dying creature I recognised all that was left of her I once called—Lily! She looked at me pleadingly, timidly, like a wounded fawn—tried to speak, which I forbade—caught my hand in a death-grip, and then, with a few convulsive gasps, expired. Poor, crushed victim! the ghastly history of her fallen experiences was untold by human lips, but it was written on her wasted frame in fearful characters. There was the record, not only of famine and disease, but blows. Yes, there were bruises on those wasted limbs that told of some hard task-master who had hounded her out to die.

Inquiries were instituted by the police; but all that was ever known was that she was in debt at her lodgings, a house near Long Acre, kept by a Belgian woman, and she was reputed stupid and idle, which meant, no doubt, heart-broken and weary.

The ladies of our household were scandalised that I should have brought, what they called 'a dying prostitute' into the surgery, and my sympathy was pronounced 'most indecorous.' To make victims was an error certainly, but yet pardonable in a young man—to pity, to protect, to rescue was depravity; such was the code social as they and multitudes expound it. In the code divine there stands this record for the Pharisee—'Publicans and harlots shall enter into heaven before ye!'

Heart-stricken and indignant, I at once gave up my engagement, buried poor Lily, and went to France, both for change of scene and to study some branches of my profession in the Paris hospitals. Six weeks after I had commenced my attendance at the Hôtel Dieu, a patient was brought in, in a state of asphyxia from the fumes of charcoal. She was said to be the mistress of a man who had been taken up for some political offence. She was in debt and poverty, and had attempted suicide. Attempted! nay, committed it, for she did not recover. The young French surgeons were loud in their praises of the beauty of this unknown Englishwoman. I had not seen the patient as she came in, in the night, but my rounds brought me to her bed. I looked at her—with what emotions! it was our sister Harriett!

So, it seemed, with all our parents' toil to 'flaunt it with the best,' their family had failed to make a hold on that world they had been taught to value so highly. 'Yea, they shall not be planted: yea, they shall not be sown,' seemed the denunciation on our house. If, in our childhood's home, honest

nest poverty had been bravely avowed; if we had all been reared in a spirit of industry and independence; and if I had strangled in my breast the coward fear that prevented my honourably marrying the girl I loved—Oh! with her at my side, I could have fought the world and conquered bravely, or yielded honourably! but 'conventionalisms,' 'gentility,' 'appearances' triumphed, and behold their work!

I fell ill, and came back here to die. I am tired, Mary, and will finish this record to-morrow.

(*Note by another hand.*)

The to-morrow never came. The owners of the house where the writer of the above died found these papers in a table-drawer some months after their lodger's death. There was no direction to the sister in Canada, and her married name is unknown, though every inquiry has been made. No claimant of the MS. appeared, so it was deemed right to publish it, altering merely the names of parties in London, referred to in the narrative.

Art. IX.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

THE importance of the inauguration of the 'National Association for the Promotion of Social Science,' which took place at Birmingham in October of last year, can hardly be overrated. Nothing is more necessary than that philanthropists and social politicians should be educated to systematic thought. For want of system the labour of well-intentioned inquirers not unfrequently becomes inaccurate and deceptive; for want of careful and thoughtful deduction these facts, even when accurate, often lead to erroneous conclusions and hollow theories. Not seldom the philanthropist, standing alone, wants the courage to avow convictions which appear to the world extreme and impracticable; while the interchange of thought, and the lessons of various experience, will usually prevent the expenditure of effort, which, being merely impulsive, is too often abortive.

The 'National Association' appears not merely to have derived encouragement from, but to have been largely supported by, the members of the Law Amendment Society; the original idea of the scheme having been suggested by the mutual advantages that had followed a connexion of the latter body with the 'National Reformatory Union.' The 'National Association' appears likely to carry out the promise of its inauguration. The proceedings of the Birmingham meeting, and the addresses of the chairmen of the various sections, have been published by Messrs. Parker, and will form a most valuable addition to the library of every social reformer. In its permanent form of organisation it is presided over by the veteran Lord Brougham, and, divided into several sub-sections, or departments, it confides Jurisprudence and the Amendment of the Law to the care of Lord John Russell; while Education, Punishment, and Reformation, Public Health, and Social Economy, afford scope for the energies of Sir J. Pakington, the Bishop of London, Lord Stanley, and Sir Benjamin Brodie. It is probably easier to discover inconveniencies in this arrangement than to suggest a better. But it would be a very simple matter to name questions which range themselves under no one of these departments *specially*, and which may therefore be neglected. Thus, prostitution has relations undoubtedly to three divisions—intemperance certainly to all five. Both these questions found, it is true, incidental admission into the discussions at Birmingham; but it operates unjustly to the appreciation of the true magnitude of these great problems to rank them under one section only. It may, however, be supposed that the programme put forth to the public has not been adopted without thought; and it may, despite our little objection, be well received with general acceptance.

The attention which has been excited towards Law Amendment augurs some more satisfactory progress than has hitherto been made. Indeed, in some respects, this attention has expanded to a recognition, not only of a legal, but a commercial necessity. The Bankruptcy law in England has been condemned in energetic terms, not only by the legal profession, but by mercantile men.

men. The Chambers of Commerce in the great centres of industry have been roused to activity, and have given in their verdict of condemnation of the existing system. It is evident that an intimate association must always exist between the morality of commercial life and the laws which regulate the insolvency of the trader. That law which will enable the honest, but ruined man of business, to relieve himself from the unforeseen pressure of misfortune, should never extend its ægis over the fraudulent knave. Economy also, as well as efficiency, must be primarily regarded in a matter where, at the best, loss and irritation must certainly ensue.

In no respect does the present system appear fully satisfactory. The expense of winding-up an estate in bankruptcy is so appalling, that many creditors prefer to submit to known or suspected imposition, rather than place themselves in a possibly worse position.

On the average, it may be stated that from 45 to 51 per cent. of the assets will be swallowed up in the process of winding-up an estate in bankruptcy. Under the existing law the facilities for private arrangement between the debtor and his creditor are very inadequate; while, in cases where the creditors are forced to carry the estate into court, the administration of the assets is far from being sufficiently under their control. An opinion seems also to be entertained that the present districts are too extensive, and that the localisation of courts is much to be desired. Again, very great inconveniences arise from the distinctions made under bankruptcy and insolvency, between the person and estates of one class of debtors, unable to pay their debts, and those of another class, who are under the same disability.

Law reformers do not appear, however, to be as well agreed upon the remedy as they are upon the grievance.

At Birmingham a sub-committee was appointed, charged with the duty of preparing a bill, which should embody the views of the delegates assembled at that meeting. Those views appear to have been—consolidation as well as amendment; the abolition of the distinction between trader and non-trader, and the amalgamation of bankruptcy and insolvency jurisdiction under the same tribunal; the introduction of the 'dead men's clauses' of 1849; the promotion of private arrangements under the sanction and authority, with summary power, of the Court—an approximation to the Scottish system, which is founded on the natural principle, that proceedings in bankruptcy should resemble the course which, in the absence of law, the creditors themselves would take with an insolvent estate; the localisation of tribunals; the abolition of class certificates, and more stringent provision for the punishment of fraud.

The late Lord Chancellor, early in the present year, in answer to questions from Lord Brougham, stated, in his place in the House of Lords, that a Government measure of Bankruptcy reform had been prepared. Of this measure, which (having been considered by the Board of Trade) was to have been introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Lowe, high expectations were formed. It is, of course, impossible to predict what course the present Government may adopt with regard to it. It is said a very complete measure is to be introduced by Sir F. Kelly.

There is still an independent Bill, bearing the name of Brougham, before the House of Lords—viz., 'A Bill for the Abolition of Imprisonment for Debt"—which purports, not only to carry out its title, but also to supersede the London Insolvency Court, and to enable non-traders to apply to the Court of Bankruptcy.

Scarcely less important than Bankruptcy reform is the TRANSFER OF LAND. Although on this point, as might be expected, there is great diversity of opinion, little doubt can be entertained that the scheme of a simple registration of title, with power to the legal owner to transfer, is rapidly gaining ground in public opinion. On the best mode of dealing with this important subject the law-officers of the late Government were apparently at variance. In the House of Commons the Attorney-General (Sir R. Bethell) expressed his approval of the principle of registration of title, and had prepared a bill for the purpose of legalising that principle; but it was withdrawn, in deference to the opinion of a higher functionary. On the 8th of February, however, the late Lord Chancellor introduced a Bill into the House of Lords, stating that he could not wholly concur with the Report of the Commissioners, and that his Bill was, therefore, founded only on a part of that Report. This Bill does not appear

appear to have been received with very cordial approval. In legislating for the improvement of the system of transferring land, it is equally as important to regard the necessity of preventing the growth of future encumbrances, as to clear the title from such as already impede the transfer. The Lord Chancellor's Bill simply regarded the last of these objects. It sought to enable a seller to clear the title by application to the Court of Chancery, where the title would be investigated and proved, and a conveyance made under the sanction of the Court. But from the moment of the conveyance, nothing would prevent the working again of the old system, and charges and encumbrances gradually attaching afresh to the land; a short time would render the title as complicated as ever. Now, a system of registration would not only clear the title, but *keep it cleared*.

Among the social law reforms which must be noticed stands the ACT TO AMEND THE LAW RELATING TO DIVORCE AND MATRIMONIAL CAUSES IN ENGLAND, which, notwithstanding the vehement opposition of influential parties, passed into operation on the 1st of January in the present year.

Of the *general* popularity of the law itself there cannot be much doubt. One of its provisions has already been extensively acted upon. Scarcely a police magistrate in the kingdom but has been called upon to protect, by order given under this Act, the earnings and property of some poor industrious woman, against the rapacity of a vagabond husband, who has deserted her. This alone would indicate the terrible hardship which the state of our law in such matters must have formerly inflicted. It is too early yet to know much of the operation of the Act as to divorce; but it will at least be hailed by all lovers of public decency, as finally abolishing the most disgusting of the civil actions tolerated in our judicial proceedings.

The CODIFICATION, or CONSOLIDATION of our law, is a subject also of prime social importance.

A series of notices were placed on the Journals of the House of Commons by the late Solicitor-General, bearing on this; but these, as well as other matters, will, no doubt, stand over until the course of the present Government be ascertained.

The result of the TRIAL of the BRITISH BANK DIRECTORS has been the conviction of several of the most culpable, including, although on not very satisfactory grounds, Mr. ex-Sheriff Kennedy and Mr. Stapleton, M.P. for Berwick. It is probable some efforts may be made to alter this result, but of their success much doubt must be entertained.

A strange exemption from the penalty of dishonesty was illustrated at the autumn Liverpool assizes last year. A corn-merchant, indicted for having, by false pretences, obtained an acceptance from a third party to a large amount, which he had assigned for value to his banker, was acquitted, entirely in consequence of a decision by Lord Campbell, in a well-known case, 'the Queen *v.* Danger,' Coxe's Criminal Cases, vol. vii., part 6, p. 303. In this case it was decided that a bill of exchange in the hands of a drawer is not a 'chattel, money, or valuable security,' within the 7th and 8th Geo. IV., c. 29, s. 53, the obtaining of which, by a false pretence, can be made the subject of an indictment under that statute. A decision so disastrous to commercial morality cannot be suffered to rest without the application of a remedy.

In the ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL LAW, and especially as bearing on the relation of CRIMINAL SATISTICS to social conditions, the summary jurisdiction exercised by magistrates deserves attention. Under the present system many hundreds of offenders are annually imprisoned, not because imprisonment is the punishment primarily awarded by law to their offence, but because they have been unable to pay *the fine* imposed by the magistrate. This inability may evidently be occasioned by various circumstances—poverty, the suddenness of the demand, or the absence of friends. It is suggested by the Law Amendment Society that an adoption of the County Court instalment system would be advantageous, not only to the administration of justice, but as saving many casual offenders from the debasing and hardening influences of prison life. Such a project is well worthy of consideration. In one prison in London alone 40 to 50 per cent. of the inmates are undergoing sentences for non-payment of fines — sentences often arbitrary, and without any apparent fixed rule of decision. It is clear, also,

also, how important an element of error is here introduced into social inquiry.

The legislative difficulties which surround the question of EDUCATION appear to increase rather than diminish. Industrial schools, reformatories, and other appliances for the instruction of our *criminal* population seem destined to a rapid and successful development; but for our *non-criminal*, yet ignorant masses, the prospect of any systematic national education is, as yet, but a mirage in the sandy waste of their daily life. Sir John Pakington lately obtained, as some slight evidence of vitality in the legislature, a committee of the House of Commons to inquire and report upon this matter—with what result, save delay, has yet to be seen.

Even the administration of the law as regards industrial and reformatory schools is not without its difficulties. By recent enactments, not only is the magistrate empowered to send an unfortunate child, whom he may be called on to convict, to certain schools, but the parent of the child may be compelled to contribute to its support during education. This valuable provision is found practically inefficient. It is not unusual for respectable parents, hopeless of the reclamation of a son or daughter, to beg of the magistrate to send their child to a reformatory as its last chance. But it is still more frequent for worthless vagabonds to urge their children to crime, or even to prosecute them themselves, for the purpose of getting rid of the responsibility of their maintenance. Parents ought to be made aware that they cannot, by educating their offspring to crime, throw upon society the duty of keeping them; but the vagrant habits of such classes render the legal lesson provided by Act of Parliament very difficult of application. It is not easy to suggest a remedy for this state of things: we allude to it as worthy of public attention and discussion.

The GREAT SOCIAL EVIL, as it is called, has certainly within the last few months risen to occupy an unusual share of public attention. Prostitution flaunts in all the main thoroughfares of our metropolis and large cities; and it has become hardly possible for the decent female of the lower ranks of life to walk in the public thoroughfare, or to attend places of public assembly, without being jostled by her gorgeously-attired but frail sister. Statistics of the most appalling character have been made public, but, it must be hoped, not a little tinged with the exaggerated hue which is always thrown upon the object of excited popular interest. To those who are familiar with the nature of similar statistics, such doubts will not appear unreasonable. The natural tendency of the official and police mind is so universally unfavourable to the suspected—so completely prone to reverse the ancient maxim of English law, and to presume guilt until innocence be proved—that one cannot be surprised if error occasionally creep into its conceptions of social conditions, and suspicion gradually slide into positive conviction. But while—for the honour of our country, and in vindication of the chastity of English women — we must demur to some of the published statements, there can be no doubt that the evil is of so great magnitude as to call for the earnest investigation of every philanthropist. It is discussed at some length, and with a decision of sentiment, in another portion of the present Review, and there is, therefore, less need to enlarge upon it here. At all times it is a subject which can only be approached with reluctance, and considered with cautious and dispassionate judgment. Care must, however, be taken to avoid the mistake of heaping upon the fallen nothing but opprobrium and contempt. Disgusting enough, no doubt, is the brazen effrontery of the habitual and hardened prostitute; yet even, at the worst, one finds it difficult to repress a sentiment of pity for a nature so violated and a life so hopeless. To these poor pariahs, all that can make life happy to a woman is beyond reach. 'The free happy ignorance of maidenhood' is gone for ever; the 'sacred dignity and honour of matronhood' is not for them. Nor must all who have sunk into this degradation be indiscriminately condemned together. Some loathe their own trade with as deep a loathing as experience can produce; others are even happy in their career. The offspring of depraved and dissolute parents, a neglected infancy has developed into a youth—perhaps a childhood—of immorality; they have not *lost* a virtue which they *never possessed*. But whatever conclusion philanthropists may arrive at as to a remedy, one consideration cannot be overlooked.

Intemperance

Intemperance is the broad channel through which the cesspool of sensual vice is filled. The publican supplies to the 'unfortunate' at once impudence and oblivion. Close all the public temptations to drinking, shut the door of the public-house, and the exercise of public prostitution as a trade would, in the majority of cases, cease to be a possibility.

The practices of obscenity and temptation to vice have not been left, however, untouched by the arm of the law. Lord Campbell's Act for the PREVENTION OF THE SALE OF OBSCENE PUBLICATIONS has been vigorously and successfully enforced. Holywell-street has been cleansed, and the filth which filled the neighbourhood around with moral miasmata has been consumed as a public nuisance. Public decency has been vindicated in the punishment of the trader in immorality, and no violation of public order has resulted to justify hostile anticipation. This experience is not without its significance for the labourers in other fields of legislative improvement.

Not unconnected with such questions as the foregoing has been the discussion in the leading journal of the propriety of EARLY MARRIAGES, and especially of the possibility of a happy union on an income of less than 300*l.* per annum. Amusing enough it must be to young Jones, of the Circumlocution Office, to poise the happiness and the inconvenience which would arise if, with his salary and his habits, he were to end his dallying flirtation with Julia Smith; but in the mean time, without regard to his scruples, the population around him marry and are given in marriage, while the immense majority of happy families in the community regard half the sum under discussion as almost fabulous wealth.

The publicans of Scotland have been vigorous in their efforts to procure the repeal of the SCOTTISH PUBLIC-HOUSES ACT, which prohibits their traffic on the sabbath-day. In order to serve their ends, they induced Lord Melgund to move for certain Parliamentary returns. These are now before us. They must certainly have astonished the promoters of the inquiry; for though studiously excluding any reference to the influence of the law upon 'Sunday cases,' the only day on which the prohibition operates, abundant evidence is adduced to show its favourable effect on the drunkenness of the country *as a whole*. Thus, while under the old law the police statistics of Glasgow show an average number of drunken cases annually of 22,770, the new law represents 16,866. In Edinburgh, 9,434 stand against 7,915; in Dundee, 1,203 against 1,041; in Greenock, 2,904 against 1,839; and in Paisley, 782 against 496. These results would, of course, be more favourable still had they reference to the precise period of the operation of the Act; and it is worth while to notice that, notwithstanding the outcry which is always made against laws prohibiting the sale of drink on the ground of evasion and illicit selling, the publicans of Scotland, by their own returns, have been able to make out no case which need alarm the most sensitive Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Coincident with the meeting of the 'National Association' at Birmingham, the general council of the UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE held its annual sitting in Manchester. The object of that society, which has been in active operation since 1853, is to procure the legislative suppression of the traffic in intoxicating liquors; and as the result of their agitation, they have thrown before the country a number of 'suggestions for a Bill to prevent' this traffic. The scope of these suggestions is eminently popular. They proceed on the assumption that the public-house exists only in deference to a real or supposed public necessity, and that the public will is the best expression of that need. At present the power of decision as to the existence of a public-house resides in the magistracy—a body appointed by the Crown, and entirely irresponsible to the people; and the Alliance conceives it would arouse no serious objection to transfer the power of refusal from the magistrates to the inhabitants of the district to be affected by the licence. This, they suggest, should be accomplished by the adoption by Parliament of a PERMISSIVE PROHIBITORY LAW—that is, a law which (as in the cases of the Public Libraries Act, the Health of Towns Act, the Scottish Police Act, and many others) shall allow the voters of each district or division to adopt or reject its provisions as they may please.

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The suggested Bill would empower the ratepayers of a borough, parish, or township to call upon their mayor, or chief officer, to take the votes of the district; and if a *majority of two-thirds* of those voting were favourable to the adoption of the Act it would be so adopted; but if this preponderating majority were not secured, and, of course, *à fortiori*, if the vote were hostile, the Act would not come into operation, nor could a further effort be made in its behalf for at least twelve months.

The Act, when so adopted, would amount to an entire prohibition of the common sale of alcoholic liquors, save by agents, to be appointed, within certain limits and under certain restrictions, by the justices, and who would be paid by salary, and not by profit, so as to be deprived of the inducement to 'push business.' These agents would be allowed to sell only for such purposes as might be declared legal by the Act. Into the machinery suggested we need not enter; it appears simple and likely to be effective; but we must allude to one of the suggestions as involving a very evident principle of social equity. Ordinary trades are held at law responsible for any damage they may cause: chemical works can be indicted and removed, or the party injured may appeal to his private remedy; but the publican's trade is protected by virtue of his licence from the operation of this general law. The gin-seller and beer-seller pocket all their profits and leave society to pay for all their damages. The suggested Act of the Alliance would remove this unfair distinction by making the seller (illegally under that Act) responsible for all the damages to person and property which might result from such sale. It cannot be denied that if ever there can be a case deserving, at the hands of a jury, substantial compensation, it is that of the poor wife, who, for the profit of the publican, is deprived of the home and happiness and comfort and protection and support that may be regarded as the consideration upon which she entered into the marriage contract.

A careful perusal of these 'suggestions' recommends them to our approval. It is certain that a law, and especially such a law, to be efficient must be popular—that is, must be the expression of public sentiment and desire. But public sentiment cannot enforce itself. It must assume the form of law in order to carry out its own dictates against the power of indifference, selfishness, avarice, or cruelty. Precisely such a law is this of the United Kingdom Alliance. It would simply be an imperial enactment enabling a preponderating public opinion to exercise executive power.

As an interesting circumstance, bearing on this subject, we may allude to the removal of the PITCAIRN ISLANDERS from their old home to Norfolk Island. Their new form of government—essentially democratic—has been established for them by Sir W. Denison, Governor of Tasmania. Among its provisions, based upon their old experience of its utility, is an entire prohibition of the sale of beer and spirits on the island, save only for purposes of medicine.

The existence of intemperance is, indeed, the great barrier to social progress. It feeds the reformatory with juvenile criminals, and the gaols with hardened offenders; it neutralizes and destroys the work of education, and undermines the physical power of the industrious people; it creates the necessity for taxation, and diminishes the resources of the people to sustain that taxation. It would ill become any social reformer to turn with indifference away, or to allow prejudice to prevent his acceptance of any reasonable measure for securing deliverance from this national curse, even though its acceptance might involve some little obloquy, and its accomplishment considerable labour.

Art. X.—Review of Current Literature.

1. Biographical.

Fifty Years' Recollections, Literary and Personal, with Observations on Men and Things. By Cyrus Redding. London: Skeet, 1858.

THE last half century has been memorable in this country, and more productive of changes than any preceding period of like duration. Progress in science and commerce, in social and national reform, has been extensive. Railways, steamships, telegraphs, penny posts, free trade, &c., have been originated and carried forward incredibly. He who has watched the rise and progress of these, and can give us the record of his recollections, must to some extent be our benefactor. Mr. Redding does not notice such events at any length, but clusters around his personal history, which was chiefly literary and connected with the press, notes of men and manners during his times. His two volumes are pleasant gossip. He was dandled on the knee of John Howard, saw John Wesley, heard Mrs. Siddons and Talma, and was associated with Thomas Campbell. He was editor of a provincial and of a metropolitan paper, of Galignani in Paris, and contributed to the 'New Mouthly' and the 'Metropolitan.' There are some interesting stories of the men, now passed away, who figured during the last fifty years, and pictures of many social customs now obsolete. Mr. Redding, though a journalist, is a connoisseur of wine and the author of its history. We hope he has escaped the penalties of indulgence; for he must have been well initiated who could, as he boasts, vanquish Christopher North in a match at rum punch. Such matches will, we trust, soon be obsolete.

The Gloaming of Life, a Memoir of James Stirling. By the Rev. Alexander Wallace, author of the 'Bible and the Working Classes.' Glasgow: Scottish Temperance League.

AN exquisite biography of a man rescued from the depths of intemperance, continued through forty years. It is worthy of extensive circulation, and is a noble monument to the beneficent effects of temperance. The reverend author has executed the task, evidently a labour of love, in a manner that will secure the eager perusal of the little work by all into whose hands it may come. The pictures of Scottish village-life, the drunken habits of shoemakers, the touching incident of Stirling's conversion, and his many labours, are the touches of a master. We wish we had more of this literature for the million.

Béranger's Memoirs, written by Himself. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1857.

THE story of the poet's early life and struggles is told with great simplicity; and in the appendix the translator has added some information relative to Béranger, with a number of his letters. But this volume is not a sufficient life of the lyric poet of the French people. Like our own Burns, Béranger has indulged in many coarse expressions in his songs, which, as in the case of the former's in Scotland, do not tend to improve the social morality of the people in whose mouths they are familiar as 'household words.'

2. Philosophical.

The World of Mind. By Isaac Taylor. London: Jackson and Walford. 1857.

THE author of this work is too well known to need eulogium. Any production of his pen is entitled to respect, though it is generally open to criticism. We do not mean to enter into the merits of this valuable treatise, or discuss the themes which it suggests. There are a few remarks on social matters which we quote:—

'902. When the default of sympathy with genuine griefs, especially with those griefs that spring from the domestic instincts, arises, as we have said, from the brutalising effect of barbarous usages in which, from childhood, we have been accustomed to take part—then, and in every such case, the "Social Institution," by which such usages are sanctioned is itself A CRIME, and it will be germinative of crimes, until a community so deeply plague-smitten becomes the nuisance of the world.'

Thorndale; or, the Conflict of Opinions. By William Smith, author of 'Ethelwold,' &c. Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons.

THIS is a most fascinating work, and suggestive of many thoughts. The style in which it is written is beautiful and lively, though the subjects dealt with

with are occasionally of the most abstract kind. The volume is an autobiography, mingled with short essays and reports of conversations, and supplemented with a dissertation, entitled, 'The Confessions of Faith of an Eclectic and Utopian Philosopher, A.D. 1850.' Charles Thorndale is an interesting character, of fine cultivation and ardent sympathies, encompassed with doubts, yet inquiring. Himself the victim of consumption, he is keenly alive to the diseases in our social system which prey upon the community. The world is a counterpart of himself; but amidst the various Utopian theories propounded, he can find no practicable plan whereby the evils can be removed or remedied.

We desiderate something more *certain* than this book affords; but its spirit of inquiry must stimulate every reader to think for himself. We regret that we cannot enter more fully into the merits of this valuable production, and conclude by recommending the thoughtful and cultivated among our readers to peruse for themselves a book which, for its fine sentiment, manly thoughts, varied interest, and wholesome speculation has not many equals.

3. Voyages and Travels.

A Two Years' Cruise off Terra del Fuego, the Falkland Islands, Patagonia, and in the River Plate. A Narrative of Life in the Southern Seas. By W. Parker Snow, late Commander of the mission yacht, 'Allen Gardiner;' author of 'Voyage of the 'Prince Albert' in Search of Sir John Franklin.' 2 vols. London: Longman and Co.

Amidst much that is very interesting, Captain Snow has mixed unnecessary controversy with the missionary society in whose service he was engaged. He might have left out that portion, especially as he threatens another publication on the subject. Captain Snow has given some lively details of nautical experience in the Southern Seas; but he presents no very pleasing picture of the colonial establishment at Stanley.

Letters from Cannes and Nice. By Margaret Maria Brewster. Edinburgh: Constable and Co.

Written in a vigorous, healthy style, containing considerable information, and fitted to be a handbook of English residents in these two towns, now so much a resort for invalids and others. This volume is elegantly got up by the publishers.

The Land of Promise. Notes of a Spring Journey from Beersheba to Jaffa. By Horatius Bonar, D.D. London: Nisbet and Co. 1858.

Interesting notes, with very full references to Scripture, which the author has taken much pains to elucidate.

4. Social Science.

Punishment and Prevention. By Alex. Thomson, Esq., of Banchory, author of 'Social Evils,' &c. London: James Nisbet and Co. 1857.

This is a most valuable work on social reform. The author is fully informed on the subjecst he discusses, and the counsels he urges on public attention are statesmanlike, philanthropic, and Christian. Prison discipline in all its phases, reformatory efforts—especially the history of the Aberdeen Industrial Feeding Schools—the financial and moral results of strong drink, &c., are treated in a way worthy of the careful consideration of all who are interested in the improvement of the people. It is gratifying to find a landed proprietor occupying his leisure with such philanthropic purposes and work as are embodied in this important volume. Mr. Thomson writes as a scholar, a political economist, a patriot, and a Christian.

The Band of Hope Review for 1851-57, and *British Workman for* 1855-57. London: Partridge and Co.

We hail the growing circulation of these excellent and beautiful periodicals. Their moral tone, literary matter, and artistic illustration are all commendable, and cannot fail to do good service to practical and necessary reforms.

English Hearts and English Hands; or, the Railway and the Trenches. By the author of 'Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars.' London: Nisbet and Co. 1858.

When earnest Christian sympathy is shown towards the sunken masses, good will result. The lady to whom we are indebted for this work, as well as its highly-popular predecessor, has tried practical philanthropy, and, in the happy transformation of the roughest navvies, realised her reward. Frequent testimonies to the deadly influence of public-houses are given in this work. The authoress sighs for some wise man who will devise and carry through a moral and legislative cure for the drunkenness of the land. The moral is in such labours

bours as her own; and it is a pity that legalised temptations should exist to blight so salutary a work. We trust this volume may induce many to 'go and do likewise.'

Tom Brown's School Days. By an Old Boy. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co.

We are not surprised that this work has become popular. It is just the book for a schoolboy, and will scarcely fail to awaken in him good, noble, and manly purposes. Besides, there breathes throughout it that Christian tone of which the lamented Arnold was so illustrious an expression. The influence of that great and good man as an instructor of youth is by no means exaggerated in the story of Tom Brown. May there be many such masters in our public institutions, who shall send forth youths so well disciplined and imbued with such a spirit as Tom Brown!

5. Miscellaneous.

The Exiles of Italy. By C. G. H., author of 'The Curate of Linwood.' Edinburgh: Constable and Co. 1857.

Few will peruse this volume without deep feeling. 'Though in the form of a novel,' the author informs us that it 'is a strictly authentic history of the period embraced.' It is a record of the sufferings and oppression endured by Italians since the memorable year 1848, when the whole peninsula was in such commotion as led many to hope its national liberty was about to be secured.

It narrates, in a most interesting manner, and often with pathos, the events of that period, and traces the fortunes of some of the most celebrated men around whom the hopes of constitutional liberty for Italy were then entwined. The reader is taken to Naples, and made familiar with the scenes of which that capital was the theatre during May, 1848.

Rome next engages his attention during the period of Pio Nono's feigned constitution and cowardly flight, of the republic and its triumviri, and of the siege by the French. After the impossibility of continuing the unequal strife was too clearly demonstrated, Garibaldi and his brave troops passed out of the city to await on some hospitable shore the dawning of a brighter day. The faithful few had soon to separate for fear of discovery by the Austrians. Garibaldi and his beautiful wife were left alone.

'The gentle spirit was indeed strong, so strong that it sustained the fragile and sinking frame with the power of a quenchless life. Yet though her sweet smile ever answered the anxious gaze so often bent upon her, and her voice spoke only of hope, Garibaldi saw that her strength was failing from day to day, that her cheek became paler, and her form more attenuated.'

They found a resting-place in a wood-cutter's cottage, where Garibaldi watched the sleep of his exhausted wife. He learned from the trusty peasant the fate of some of his compatriots. Next morning—

'A murmur was heard in the outer room, and Goffredo's step hastily entering from the porch.

'"The Austrians are in the valley," he whispered. Anita caught the sound.

'"They are coming. We shall go together."

'Startled, he bent over her. Her eyes met his with a long gaze of love, then softly closed, and the gentle spirit of Anita Garibaldi was with her God.

'But a little time had passed, when Rosetta opened the door.

'"Generalissimo! you must fly; the Austrians are at hand."

'"I care not!" he exclaimed; "let them take me."

'Then, suddenly checking himself, he knelt beside the bed, and clasping Anita passionately in his arms, he kissed her.

'"No! my beloved; I will live for our suffering country till God calls me home to thee."

'Then turning to Rosetta and her mother, who stood weeping at the door—

'"Farewell, my friends! God will reward you:" and clasping to his bosom the cherished form of his wife, he passed from the cottage door.

'A little way down the valley the Austrian bayonets were gleaming in the sunset. He heeded them not, as he strode up the mountain with his burden: and when he had reached a green lonely spot, where the dark fig-trees threw their shadows on the grass, and the gnoling rocks shut out all human eyes, he stopped. Digging a grave with his sword in the velvet turf, he laid her gently there; and covering her quiet resting-place with grass and flowers, went forth a lonely wanderer on the earth.'

Meliora.

ART. I.—*William Paterson the Merchant Statesman and Founder of the Bank of England: his Life and Trials.* By S. BANNISTER, M.A., formerly Attorney-General of New South Wales. Edinburgh: W. P. Nimmo. 1858.

OF all the great interests in which this country is engaged the department of commerce is that which has the smallest amount of literature devoted to its service. Commerce, in fact, is almost without a literature. Its gigantic influence on the world is unrepresented in the record which literature professes to preserve of the world's history. Nations have their archives, courts their annals, wars their historians—the sciences and the arts their academies and their learned societies, whose duty it is to perpetuate the history of their progress. We have lives of kings and queens; lives of chancellors and judges; lives of archbishops, bishops, presbyters, and pastors. The soldier and the seaman are immortalised by the hand of the ready writer; the traveller does the duty for himself, and leaves upon the shelves of the world of literature the memory of his wanderings and the story of the wonders he has seen. Yet commerce—which is, in one sense, the life of the world of civilisation—has no annals and no historians, no biographers and no autobiographers. In an age when all things visible, knowable, or imaginable, are scrutinised with an elaborate detail of research which has almost merged into unintelligent pedantry, a vast field of the most important portion of the life of man has been overlooked or neglected, and the library of civilisation has still the possibility of a new literature in the history of commerce and the biographies of the merchant adventurers who have founded the trade of the world.

There are exceptions, and it is our task, on this occasion, to signalise one in Mr. Bannister's able life of Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England. But not only are there exceptions—there are reasons for the absence of a permanent and book literature more immediately devoted to commerce. Commerce, which has so few books, has the largest amount of the current literature of the ever-teeming press. The newspaper, the 'Prices Current,' and the 'Gazette,' are the daily or weekly records of the world of commerce. No information that the press produces is so systematically, and with such unvarying regularity, booked up to the last point as the practical literature of commerce. Every

man in Britain may know every day the last authentic intelligence from every market in the world, and the current price of every article that is customarily offered for sale. Commerce, in its practical bearing, being very much the adjustment of prices, and prices being subject to perpetual variations, the necessities of the merchant compel him to procure the latest information; and it may be that the compulsory habit of devoting so large a portion of time to the current information furnished by the periodical press may have damped or exhausted the desire to pursue the history of his profession, and to form an intelligent acquaintance with the strange phases it has passed through, or the noble men who have been the pioneers of the practical arts of the realm of civilisation. The past deficiency is in some degree likely to be atoned for by present—we will not say superfluity—but by present abundance. Few men of great note are now likely to be passed over and forgotten. James Watt and George Stephenson are tolerably familiar to most readers of the English language, and the error of neglect is gradually being rectified. Commerce, in fact, or commerce under the form of its connection with science or invention, is enlisting the pen of the biographer; and commerce, in its purely mercantile aspect, will no doubt ultimately assert its claim to a place in the annals of mankind. But there may be another reason for the neglect of commercial literature;—no less than the comparative secrecy with which its operations are carried on; a secrecy which is altogether unintentional, and which arises from the very nature of its transactions. The king is on the throne—really or metaphorically—and is necessarily surrounded by spectators; the general is in the field, devising and carrying out measures of military tactics on which the eyes of nations are intent, and in which the interests or the very existence of empires are involved. His light is not hid under a bushel. His deeds and doings are necessarily trumpeted throughout the world. He receives dignities—the thanks of parliament—is made a lord or a duke—and all men know wherefore. He has even, in modern times, a special correspondent appointed by the press—that is, by the public—to watch and report his proceedings. He lives in the open air of publicity—not even in the glass house of the virtuous ancient—but in the open air. All men see and know him; all men wish to do him honour—to throw up the hat and hurrah for the hero who has fought our battles and beaten our enemies. His success is impersonal: it is not merely his success, but ours, and in that may be found some explanation of the fame of the soldier. Yet if we turn in the other direction altogether, and inquire—not into the fame of the hero who has been our safeguard or our champion, but into the fame of the criminal who has waged war upon society, we find that publicity

publicity will insure, in some form or other, the service of the pen and the perpetuation of the story. Great murderers—poisoners—assassins—highwaymen—pirates and rogues, will attain to some social celebrity; and the story of Jack Sheppard or Dick Turpin is better and more widely known than the story of the great Jewish family called Rotlischild, which exercises so powerful an influence on the monetary transactions of the empire. The statesman in parliament, the soldier in the field, the preacher in the pulpit, or even the criminal at the bar of the crowded court, are at least visible, and the world looks at them. But the merchant is comparatively unknown and unknowable. We very much question whether any governor of the Bank of England ever attained sufficient notoriety to be personally known beyond the small orbit or circle within which it was his lot to circulate; and it is a well-known fact that the greatest names in the departments of money, manufacture, or trade, are names, and nothing more, so far as the great body of the nation is concerned. Even when made a lord, as in the case of Jones Loyd, the only reason for the elevation that ever presented itself to the mind of the public was, 'because he was rich,' which is perhaps as good a reason as any other; but of the personal or commercial history of the great money-dealer the public was totally in the dark. His deeds and doings were unknown and unrecorded, and the creation of a merchant lord was regarded by the country with absolute indifference.

Yet commerce, if its annals were known, might furnish materials to literature not less valuable than those furnished by war, statesmanship, or adventure. The comedy and the tragedy might be extracted wholesale out of the trading avocations of society. It is not that the elements are not there, but that they are difficult of collection, and, when collected, are so interwoven with personalities, that the whole truth could scarcely be narrated until the period of interest has to some extent passed away. In our own day we have not lacked for incidents, and assuredly the story of our time will live as long as the history of our nation. The Crimea will never die out of our memory so long as the English tongue is heard at all; and the Indian mutiny will be written down as the gigantic struggle of civilisation to conquer India to her modern uses. Their tale will be told in many a way, and after-generations will marvel at our trials and our successes. Yet we doubt whether even the perils of the Crimea, or the sadder story of the Indian massacres and the Indian triumphs, could furnish to literature more graphic materials than the events of the commercial crisis. The siege of Lucknow itself would scarcely surpass in interest the story of the Western Bank of Scotland, if we could trace from family to family the effects of the disaster, and

see widow and orphan steeped once more in sorrow, while unpunished crime could hold its head as high as ever, and rather boast of its well-doing. It is not that commerce has not its drama as deeply interesting as the drama of war, but that the incidents are covered by the conventionalities of society, and that the veil is not lifted by the hand of the artist.

We turn, then, to Mr. Bannister's Life of William Paterson, 'the merchant statesman and founder of the Bank of England,' with the belief that the author has supplied a national want, and that he has, as in duty bound, conscientiously assembled together all the available information that can now be reached by the scholar regarding one of the famous men that the commerce of these islands has produced. Paterson had sunk out of sight. He was little better than a myth, certainly not much more than a mere name—the name of the founder of the Bank of England. The Bank of England was founded by a Scotchman, and the name of that Scotchman was Paterson, who was also in some way or other connected with the Darien scheme. Such was the sum of the popular knowledge, and even the student of English history could not boast of knowing much more. It was no shame not to know the story of William Paterson. Mr. Bannister, however, has brought him to light, and with accurate care has gathered the fragments that have enabled him to reconstruct the bold innovator of whom the poet said:—

> 'I know this and see what has been done,
> Admire the steady soul of Paterson.
> It is no common genius can persuade
> A nation bred to war to think of trade.'

William Paterson was born, apparently, at the farm of Skipmyre, in Trailflat, Dumfriesshire, in March or April, 1655. He seems to have belonged to a tenant family in easy circumstances, and was destined for the 'kirk,' or Church of Scotland. How he changed his destination is a mere matter of conjecture; but he went to London in early life, was received into the counting-house of a relative, and devoted himself permanently to trade and to schemes of various kinds. The Darien colony appears to have been planned as early as 1685, when he was thirty years of age; and in a memorial addressed in 1715 to King George I., Paterson states that for twenty-nine years he had deeply studied our relations in trade with Germany. In 1687 a countryman, Mr. Robert Douglas, says that he had often met him in the coffee-houses of Amsterdam, promoting the design of a free commonwealth in Darien. In 1690 he was associated with Sir John Trenchard and Sir Dalby Thomas in the formation of the Hampstead Water Company, and in 1694 he was engaged in founding the Bank of England.

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'The want,' he says, 'of a bank, or public fund, for the convenience and security of quick payments, and the better to facilitate the circulating money in and around this great and opulent city, had in our time, among other inconveniences, occasioned much unnecessary credit to the loss of several millions, by which trade hath been exceedingly discouraged and obstructed. This is besides the height of interest, which for some time past hath borne no manner of proportion to that of our rival neighbours; and for it no tolerable reason could ever be given, either in notion or practice, considering the riches and trade of England, unless it were the want of public funds, by which the effects of the nation in some sort might be disposed of to answer the use and do the office of money, and become very useful to the trade and improvement thereof. These, and such as these, were the causes that the nature and use of banks and public funds have been the discourse and expectation of many years. *But all this while our refined politicians assure us that we must never think of settling banks in England without a commonwealth;* and this notion became so universal that it was matter of derision for any one to seem to be of a contrary opinion.'

This passage is given by Mr. Bannister from Paterson's 'Brief Account of the intended Bank of England: London, 1694;' and it finds a partial elucidation in some statements of the same tract which are sufficiently curious. We must quote another passage before endeavouring to show the influence that the political condition of the country had upon its monetary and commercial condition.

'One pretended patriot comes and tells us this design will make the king absolute, by becoming master thereof, nor is there any way to prevent it; for, says he, rich and monied men we find, by experience, are naturally timorous and fearful, and are easily brought to comply with the times to save what they have. And the keeping of this fund being of necessity committed to such, the prospect of their profit, in conjunction with their natural easiness, will, of course, induce them to join with the prince, who is always best able to encourage and support them. Another comes with a boast, and tells ye that he, or his grandsire, uncle, or some other of the race, have been abroad in some country or other, and in all their peregrinations they never met with *banks* nor stocks anywhere, but only in republics; and if we let them get footing in England we shall certainly be in danger of a commonwealth. Nay, he goes further, and tells you that the very establishing of a bank in England will, of course, alter the government; for that is to invest the funds of the nation in the hands of the subjects, who naturally are and will always be sure to be of the popular side, and will insensibly influence the Church and State.'

Let it, then, be observed that the date of the above is the year 1694; and although we may allow to Paterson a few years before that period for the preparation of his schemes, and for answering the objection that 'a bank would only succeed in a republic,' we shall yet endeavour to show that in both of these he had really been anticipated by a very useful man, who has been altogether forgotten, and of whom no mention appears to be made in the life of the founder of the Bank of England. Paterson states that in 1691 he proposed to the Government a specific plan for the restoration of the coin; so before the actual founding of the Bank of England in 1694-5, of which he claims the credit, he had, at a Committee of the House of Commons, connected the improvement of the currency of bills with the supply of money for the public service. Mr. Bannister, however, makes

makes the full admission that previous writers had advocated the introduction of the Dutch system of banking, which appears, even at that period, to have been so completely successful that the price of land had risen to a remarkably high point, and a high rate of land is usually the index of commercial prosperity. Mr. Bannister states, page 66—

'As to paper currency and banking, a better system than that which from of old prevailed legally in England had long been argued for by zealous and able writers. The work of 1677, already quoted,* was one of many in which it was contended that we ought to adopt the safe practice of the Continent, and make bills payable to the bearer transferable, without a slow and expensive assignment, or even any indorsement.'

Without, then, contesting that Paterson was the genuine founder of the Bank of England, or endeavouring to deprive him of the honours to which he is so justly entitled, we must distinctly understand that he was not the first propounder of the banking system; and it is precisely on this point that we should wish to see Mr. Bannister's work enlarged and amended when it comes to be reprinted. He has given us too meagre an account of the circumstances in the midst of which Paterson was carrying on his labours. He has given us a figure without a landscape or background, and we see no connection between the establishment of the national bank and the events and circumstances that preceded its foundation. His story wants elucidation. He has adhered too literally to the mere precise examination of Paterson himself, and has given us a monography rather than a biography. At the same time the deficiency is perhaps more than compensated by the strict adherence to original and authentic sources of information, and a few slight additions would complete Mr. Bannister's work. We therefore offer a contribution on a single point relating to a single individual.

In 1677 a small quarto volume was published with the following fanciful title:—'England's improvement by sea and land. To outdo the Dutch without fighting. To pay debts without moneys. To set at work all the poor of England with the growth of our own lands. To prevent unnecessary suits of law, with the benefit of a voluntary register, &c., &c. By Andrew Yarranton, Gent.' The book was licensed by Roger L'Estrange in 1676, and consequently must have been composed about twenty years before the founding of the Bank of England. Andrew, among other things, was the man who introduced the clover cultivation into England; and he appears to have published another work called 'Yarranton's Improvement by Clover.' He had visited the con-

* A tract entitled 'A Discourse of the use and power of Parliaments, of Laws, of Courts of Judicature, of Liberty, of Property and Religion, of the interest of England in reference to the designs of France; of Taxes and Trade,' 1677; no name of author or printer.

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tinent for the purpose of studying the trades and manufactures that might be advantageously introduced into England; and in Holland he had made himself acquainted with the Dutch system of banking. His summary of what the Dutch had done is so concise that we are tempted to quote it:—

'First, they have fitted themselves with a public register of all their lands and houses, whereby it is made ready moneys all times, without the charge of law or the necessity of a lawyer. Secondly, by making cut rivers navigable in all places where art can possibly effect it, thereby making trade more communicable and easy than in other places. Thirdly, *by a public bank the great sinews of trade, the credit thereof making paper go in trade equal with ready money—yea, better, in many parts of the world, than money.* Fourthly, a court of merchants to end all differences betwixt merchant and merchant. Fifthly, a lumber-house.'*

And again he says: 'Observe, all you that read this, and tell to your children this strange thing—that paper in Holland is equal with moneys in England;' and he enters into an argument to prove that 'a bank may rise in London equal with that of Amsterdam':—

'And I would have the mistaken world know that a bank is as safe and practicable in a kingdom as in a commonwealth, and particularly in an island that is convenient for trade. And the reason why it is so is because it is a bank of credit, and not of cash, as is the Chamber of London and the East India Company, whose treasures are abroad in trade, and increasing, and only the books in the offices. I say it is impossible to keep a bank from rising in this kingdom, nay, many banks, if we were under a voluntary register (of lands).'

We have said enough, then, to show that while Paterson might be the actual founder of the Bank of England, there were other members of the commercial community fully alive to the paramount importance of such an institution; and although this circumstance need not derogate from the honours that are his due, it is quite necessary that the fact should be stated, otherwise a distorted view of history is impressed on the vision of the reader. Paterson was the man who executed the achievement, and who brought the system of banking to a practical bearing, but Yarranton had preceded him by twenty years in a clear statement of the requisites; and we have little hesitation in affirming that if a bank had been founded on the principles announced by Andrew, it would have been a better, more secure, and more useful bank than any single institution bearing the name that has ever existed in this country.

One peculiarity, however, must strike the reader—that both Paterson and Yarranton are compelled to argue that a bank could exist in a *kingdom* as well as in a *commonwealth*. Nor was this without reason. In 1676 banking was at its lowest point. The goldsmiths had formerly carried on a system of banking, and had

* The lumber-house is spoken of by Paterson as the *Lombard*, or Lombard house, 'whereby all poor people may have moneys lent upon goods at very easy interest.'

borrowed

borrowed money, say at 6 per cent., advancing it to the Government, say at 8 or 10. But when the Dutch sailed up the Medway, in 1667, there had been a panic and a run, and the goldsmiths' credit had been destroyed. Some time later, Charles II. had seized the money in the exchequer, and had ruined thousands of families. It was, therefore, not without reason that the practical men of the time connected the idea of safe banking with the notion of a republic; and it was only after the Revolution of 1688 that the Bank of England came to be possible. It seems, in fact, to have been known as the *Revolution Bank*, and was supported by the revolution party, including John Locke, who was one of the 1,300 original shareholders.

Into the later career of Paterson we need not enter, briefly stating that in 1695 he proposed to found an Orphan Bank Fund, and quitted the direction of the Bank of England. Soon after he was engaged in the Darien scheme. In 1701 he published his 'Proposals and Reasons for constituting a Council of Trade,' a work of great merit, long attributed to the paper-money adventurer, John Law, from the circumstance that it was republished in 1761 by Foulis, of Glasgow, with Law's name. In 1706 he took part in the preliminaries for the union with Scotland, and in the first united parliament was elected for the borough of Dumfries. The last ten years of his life he appears to have spent in Westminster, and he died on the 22nd January, 1719; but where he died appears to be still unknown.

Mr. Bannister has announced as in the press (2 vols., 8vo.), 'The Writings of William Paterson,' and the announcement affords us the opportunity of throwing out a suggestion connected with the literature of commerce. The suggestion is this:—There are at present in existence various societies for the republication of scarce and valuable works that are no longer accessible to the great mass of readers—Ray Societies, Sydenham Societies, Maitland Societies, &c. To these societies a certain number of members subscribe, either in the form of an annual subscription, or in the presentation of a work or part of a work. Many books of great historic and professional value are thus rescued from oblivion, and the available literature of the nation becomes at once more perfect and more complete—more perfect, inasmuch as a distinct department is cultivated by special men with special regard to thorough investigation; and more complete, inasmuch as every wanting link is hunted up in every imaginable direction: and the accumulated fragments become of incomparably more value when assembled together, than when, in their scattered isolation, they exist only as the curiosities of the richer or more fortunate libraries. Why not, then, have a special society devoted to the reproduction and republication of the commercial literature of

of the country? Britain, the most commercial country in the world, would surely be found to contain as many wealthy merchants—including, in the term merchant, all who are engaged in the active industry of the age, whether mining, manufacturing, trading, or money-dealing—as would be willing to subscribe their annual guinea, or two guineas, for the purpose of rescuing from oblivion the literature of their own profession. And to exhibit this necessity, we have brought together Andrew Yarranton and William Paterson. Almost all who have read anything at all have read of Adam Smith, the political economist, and of the doctrines by which he swept away the old system of restriction. Yet where is the scholar who could tell us how the system demolished by Adam Smith had its origin? who was its founder? under what circumstances it was developed? who was it that wrote the thesis of which Adam Smith wrote the anti-thesis? Smith was the literary founder of the modern system by which free trade is destined to extend over the world: who was the founder of the older system, by which restrictions were imposed on trade? Was it, or was it not, this same Andrew Yarranton who promulgated the policy of protection, while, at the same time, he was using his best endeavour to import the skill and machinery of the continent? Paterson's works, taken alone, would be of no great value, because, to most readers, they would be historically unintelligible; but taken in connection with those that preceded them, and with those that succeeded them, down to Adam Smith, they would probably attain to high historic rank, and elucidate the foundation of England's commercial greatness. Why, then, should there not be a 'Paterson Society' for the republication of a complete series of the commercial literature of Great Britain, chronologically arranged? Paterson's works, under the able and acute editorship of Mr. Bannister, might form the nucleus of a national enterprise of the very highest importance.

ART. II.—1. *Report of Statute Law Commission*, 1835.
2. *The Statute Law Commission*, 1854.
3. *Report of the Law Amendment Society*, 1856.
4. *Revision of Code of Laws of the State of New York*, 1830.

THE Law of England, which has been pronounced by its flatterers to be the perfection of reason, abounds with theories, which, however wise and beneficent they may have been in their origin, have now become most inconvenient, if not positively mischievous, in their operation. The revolutions in our social and economical relations during a long course of ages, and the changes which the ever-varying phases of society have necessitated,

sitated, have helped to produce so vast and so heterogeneous an accumulation of legal ordinances, that the law itself has become little better than 'a mockery and a snare.' That the law is, for the most part, founded upon principles of equity, and that it is administered with an earnest desire to mete out even-handed justice, few, perhaps, would care to deny; and yet the grievances which exist are so onerous to all classes, when, from necessity, they become involved in its meshes, that submission to wrong is often considered preferable to the vindication of clear, undoubted right, when that vindication can only be asserted by the employment of the complex machinery of the law. 'De minimis non curat lex,' is a maxim which is thoroughly appreciated by all who have had anything to do with its vexatious delays, its alluring uncertainties, and its costly processes. But the theory of our law is, that from the exquisite simplicity of its provisions no one ought to be ignorant of them; and that theory, with the somewhat grave consequences which it involves, we find expressed in the well-known maxim, 'Ignorantia legis neminem excusat.' Under the most favourable combination of circumstances, and in a state of society at once natural and healthy, such a proposition could hardly be regarded as just and reasonable; but it would at least be expected that the laws which adopted such a legal principle would be conspicuous for their simplicity of arrangement, their perspicuity of thought, and their terseness of expression; it would be expected that, like the Laws of the Twelve Tables, they would be expounded in clear, unambiguous language, and made intelligible to the minds of the people, so that the commission of an offence might not be imputed to the ignorance of the law so much as to the positive disobedience of the offender.

The Law of England, however, contradicts, in this respect, every principle of justice and expediency. As a system—if such it can be called—it is without method, and its parts have neither coherence with, nor due relation to, each other. Dating from a remote antiquity, it has accumulated a mass of motley incongruities which have been elaborated by the subtlety of man's intellect until they have become well-nigh unintelligible, and what common sense they once contained has been almost smothered under the weight of the most artificial distinctions. It is, in short, a system built up of legal atoms, which, like the constitution of the world of the Atomic philosophers, have found their way into the places they hold by little less than blind chance.

The most accomplished lawyer who has sought to master it by the most diligent study, and by the 'viginti annorum lucubrationes,' pretends to no more than an acquaintance with its principles, as enunciated in the judicial decisions of the courts. The courts and their component members, judges of great erudition and

and large powers of mind, are not unfrequently opposed to each other, while in their judgments they anxiously endeavour, by reasoning and by thought, to trace out the foundations of the law when it has become loose and unsettled.

This system of law, the Municipal Law as it is termed 'quod quisque populus sibi constituit,' which has been established in this country for the governance of the people, and which consists of judicial decisions, and of legislative enactments whose origin is traceable to a very early period, is written or statute law, and unwritten or common law. The common law, which is declared by universal tradition and by long practice, is supposed to have had its source in the Laws of Alfred, or, as they were afterwards called, the Laws of Edward the Confessor. These laws, which were themselves a digest of the customs prevailing among the Saxons, were, no doubt, after the Norman Conquest perpetuated by tradition, and became, in combination with the enactments of early, but now extinct statutes, the foundation of what we call the Common Law of England. This law has been expounded by judges through successive ages, and their decisions, either explaining or amplifying its principles, have been recorded in Reports which are extant in a regular series from the reign of Henry III. to the present time. But besides the Common Law, there is, as it were, an off-shoot from it, which is hardly of inferior importance to, and, in its proportions, falls little short of the parent tree, which must also be ranked under the category of unwritten law. Equity, which has been defined to be το ἔλλειμα του νόμου, arose as a system in this country when the Common Law Courts became timorous of devising new remedies for new wrongs. Equally as afraid in the fourteenth century, as we are now, of exceeding the boundaries which have been prescribed by precedent, they permitted a new jurisdiction to be established, which left it to the conscience of the judge to decide all questions which were not strictly subjects of legal cognisance, or for which a writ 'in consimili casu' could not at once be framed, untrammelled by authority, and according to the very right and justice of the case. The decisions which have been pronounced by courts of equity are also extant in a series of Reports from the reign of Henry VIII., and consisting, as they do, of well-considered judgments, and of expositions of portions of the Statute Law, must be regarded as virtually a part of the unwritten law.

The Statute Law which has come down to us dates its existence from the reign of Henry III. The oldest statute extant is Magna Charta, as confirmed by the Parliament in the ninth year of the reign of Henry III. From that time to the present, the Statute Law has been continually increased in bulk at least, if not in wisdom, by the experimental legislation of six centuries,

turies, until it has attained the most monstrous dimensions. In a Report upon this important subject published by the Society for Promoting the Amendment of the Law, in 1856, it is stated that

'The Statute Book at present consists of 40 ponderous quarto volumes, each volume, on an average, containing about 1,000 closely printed pages. The public general acts, independent of some 10,000 local and personal acts, and about 14,000 private acts, are, in round numbers, 17,000, and of these about 10,500 are either obsolete or have expired, or are expressly or virtually repealed. At least 1,500 more relate exclusively either to Scotland or to Ireland, or to the Colonies, while of the remaining 5,000 many have been partially repealed, while others have been modified, in a greater or less degree, by successive legislative changes.'

In order that the gravity of the subject may be rightly appreciated, it should be explained that the Acts which are called 'Local and Personal,' and distinguished as such from the Public General Acts, though more limited in their operation, are themselves of a public character, and frequently comprise extensive districts and subjects of considerable importance. The classification and diversity of statutes are thus explained by Lord Chief Baron Pollock in delivering the judgment of the Court of Exchequer in *Richards* v. *Easto*, 15 *Meeson and Welsby*, 251. He says:—'On the 1st May, 1797, the House of Lords resolved that the king's printer should class the general statutes and special, the public, local, and private, in separate volumes; and on the 8th May, 1801, there was a resolution of the House of Commons agreed to by the House of Lords, that the "general statutes," and the "public, local, and personal" in each session should be "classed in separate volumes."' And he afterwards proceeds to say, that 'local and personal statutes' are explained to be 'such as are confined to local limits and affect particular descriptions of persons only, as distinguished from all the queen's subjects.' To indicate the extent of legislation under the denomination of 'Local and Personal Acts,' it may be observed that all road, railway, canal, parish, dock, gas, water, and market acts are included under this title; and that even such important legislative measures as 'The Mayor's Court of London Procedure Act, 1857,' 'The Mersey Docks and Harbour Act, 1857,' and it is even said 'The London Building Act,' 'The Central Criminal Court Act,' and 'The Metropolitan Police Act,' are not comprehended, or at least do not strictly fall within the classification of the General Statutes. The General Statutes therefore do, in reality, though not in words, comprehend a large proportion of those which have been above distinguished from them as 'Local and Personal,' inasmuch as many of the latter have an intimate connection with material interests, of not merely public, but of national importance, and, in a popular sense, might fairly claim to be denominated General Statutes. It is with this huge mass of statutes, piled like Ossa upon Pelion, one upon the other, and thrown

thrown into endless confusion by countless dislocations, during the last six centuries, that every Englishman is expected to be familiar, and if he is not, and he sins unhappily against the provisions of any of them, he is held to be fully responsible, and rightly punishable for his delinquency. But what a delusion is this! No one can venture to trust to his own unaided judgment upon any question involving a legal right; and even when deriving the advantage of professional learning he often finds himself tossed in such a sea of doubts as to render his position one of imminent peril. But what other result could have been expected from a piecemeal legislation such as our country has been blessed with,—a legislation which, often oblivious of the past, and hardly regardful of the future, has systematically contented itself with making provision for the exigencies of the hour? With one or two exceptions, no attempt has been made to reduce our written law to order, or to harmonise past legislation with modern demands and requirements. Statute has followed after statute, each modifying or perhaps indirectly negativing the provisions of its predecessor, and leaving the law more inexplicable than it was before. The maxim 'Leges posteriores priores contrarias abrogant' in the absence of express repealing words, is only applicable when the later statute is negative in its terms, or when a negative is necessarily implied; but where repealing words were used, the principle was, until the passing of the Act 13th & 14th Vic., c. 21, that if a statute that repealed another were itself repealed the first statute became thereby revived without any formal words for that purpose. It is evident that the utmost confusion must have been engendered by such a state of legislation, and though some efforts have been made to introduce the 'lucidus ordo' into this chaotic mass, little practical benefit has yet been obtained.

More than twenty years ago a commission was appointed for the purpose of abating and devising some remedy for this acknowledged evil, and in 1835 it made a Report in favour of the consolidation of the Statute Law. The recommendations contained in that Report seem not to have excited the attention which they deserved, and the further consideration of the subject remained practically in abeyance until the year 1853, when the present Statute Law Commission was appointed with the same object. The labours of this commission have up to the present time been unproductive, and from the mode of procedure which it is understood they have adopted, it is feared that no very early or beneficial results can be anticipated. It is obvious that the first thing to be undertaken in the prosecution of such a work should be the separation of the obsolete and dead matter from the living body of the Statute Law, or, as Lord Bacon, in his 'Proposal

'Proposal for Amending the Law of England,' has expressed it, that the first thing to be done is 'to discharge the books of those statutes where the case by alteration of time is vanished. The like of statutes long since expired and clearly repealed. The next is, to repeal all the statutes which are sleeping and not of use, but yet snaring and in force.' Even if the obsolete matter were confined to one part only of the Statute Book, so that its presence would not embarrass the other parts, it would yet be desirable to lop it off and disencumber the remainder of its weight; but when we know that it runs throughout the whole body of the statutes, and that it increases their bulk indefinitely, it would seem to be most essential, both for the sake of simplicity and for the economy of time and labour, that classification should be postponed to expurgation. Consider the labour which would be required and the energies which would be uselessly devoted to the accomplishment of the consolidation, if the statutes were to be maintained in their existing form until a classification or digest is completed! Every one of the statutes must be carefully explored, for it will not suffice to look to their titles merely, to enable a conscientious consolidation of the statutes upon any one subject to be prepared; and this process must be repeated over and over again, until, by the exhaustion of the various subjects, the entire work has been accomplished. And yet, such is the course which the Statute Law Commissioners are understood to be now pursuing, and such is the process, the painful and wearisome process, by which this important undertaking is to be consummated. No doubt the desired goal will be ultimately attained, whether the one course or the other be adopted; but it will be reached, if the course adopted by the Commissioners be persevered in, pretty much in the same way as if a traveller, desirous of getting to Dublin from Liverpool, were to start from the latter place and sail round the Orkneys instead of going, by the direct route, across the Irish Channel. In either case a much larger sacrifice of money, time, and labour would be demanded; but these are 'trifles light as air,' which, we may presume, excite no misgivings in the minds of the Statute Law Commissioners. Still, it might have been expected that even *they* would have evinced some hesitation as to the soundness of their judgment when they discovered that their opinions were at variance with those expressed by the Commissioners in their Report upon the subject in 1835, and with the views of the late Lord Chancellor Cranworth, as explained by himself in the House of Lords in March, 1853.

The Commissioners, in 1835, reporting upon the proposed consolidation of the Statute Law, recommended, as their first remedy, 'the rejection from the Statute Book of enactments which have been

been directly or indirectly repealed, or which are obsolete or otherwise superfluous.'

'We believe,' they said, 'that the reduction of the existing statutes by expurgation would not be attended with any inconvenience, and might be effected with perfect safety; and we think that if it were not deemed expedient at present to attempt a more complete consolidation of the Statute Law, a consolidation, to this extent at least, ought to be accomplished. It would diminish the bulk and costliness of the present Statute Law, would render it more accessible than it now is, would obviate the danger arising from repealed and obsolete matter (not easily discoverable to be such in the printed editions of the statutes), and would facilitate the execution of a more perfect consolidation should such be attempted at any future period.'

And Lord Cranworth, when explaining his views upon this subject in the House of Lords on the 14th March, 1853, stated 'that an attempt would be made, in the first place, to ascertain, precisely and exactly, of what the Statute Book consisted;' and again, on the 17th March, he repeated that the Board would 'first make such an expurgation of the statutes as would show what was and what was not in force.' But these views have not prevailed. Is it so easy a task to digest the Statute Law, that those who are entrusted with the performance of so onerous a duty can afford to disregard suggestions which may tend to facilitate the accomplishment of their task? or, if the process which they have adopted is preferable to that which has been advocated by the highest authorities, why has so large an expenditure of time and money been necessary to produce such barren results? It is not forgotten that the contents of two thousand volumes were digested by Trebonian and his assistants at the command of Justinian in the short space of three years; and it cannot be doubted that if earnestness of purpose had been combined with method of arrangement, and an ability capable of carrying a well-considered scheme into effect, the Statute Law of England might ere this have been digested and consolidated. Time may be frittered away, and the money of the country may be wasted in idle and profitless speculations; but seeing that consolidation under any circumstances, necessarily, in practice, implies expurgation, however in theory it may be repudiated by the existing commissioners, we believe that, before any real good can be effected, the recommendations contained in the Report of 1835 must be adopted. Let us endeavour to afford some illustration of our views by a cursory examination of the statutes now in force relating to 'Turnpikes,' and ascertain what would require to be done before their consolidation could be faithfully accomplished. On this subject some twenty statutes have been enacted since the 3rd G. IV., c. 126, which was passed 'to amend the General Laws then in being for regulating Turnpike Roads in that part of Great Britain called England,' and which statute repealed no less than sixteen statutes. In the following year, the

4th

4th G. IV., c. 95, was passed into a law, which absolutely repealed nineteen sections, and partially repealed three sections, of the 3rd G. IV., c. 126. Subsequently, the 7th and 8th G. IV., c. 24, repealed six sections of the 3rd G. IV., c. 126; and again, in the following year, the 9th G. IV., c. 77, repealed three sections of 3rd G. IV., c. 126, one section of 4th G. IV., c. 95, and one section of 7th & 8th G. IV., c. 24, and, later still, one section of 3rd G. IV., c. 126, was repealed by 3rd & 4th Vic., c. 39. We are now confining ourselves in this exposition to strictly repealing sections, and we forbear from wearying the reader with the various alterations and modifications effected by the above-mentioned and by other statutes, in the Law of Turnpikes; and, premising that no authoritative expurgation of the repealed matter has previously been made, that the materials of the Statute Book are kept together in their present form, and that a compiler were directed by the Board to consolidate the Statute Law which is now in force concerning turnpikes, in what other way could he safely proceed in the execution of his task than by commencing with a careful examination of the last statute to be found on the subject, then referring to the preceding statute whose provisions were affected by it, and duly expunging from it the sections or parts of sections which it repealed, and so proceeding onwards in his examination and work of separation and rejection, until he had reached the earliest unrepealed statute relating to that subject? Having arrived at this point, and rooted out all the dead and useless matter, he might then commence his work of collation and consolidation, conscious that the matter which remained would supply him with the existing Statute Law as applicable to 'Turnpikes.' Perplexities innumerable would arise if any other course than this were adopted; and we question whether, without its adoption, the work could be accomplished, even at the cost of a much larger expenditure of time, with anything like certainty or accuracy. But the difficulty would not stop here. We have above stated that the statute 3rd G. IV., c. 126, repealed no less than sixteen statutes relating to turnpikes, all of which, notwithstanding their repeal, exist in the Statute Book as though they were unrepealed. Now, inasmuch as there are few statutes which do not legislate, in some particulars, upon other matters than those strictly comprised under their several titles, being in some way incident to, and springing out of them; and as, therefore, to effect a true and perfect consolidation, the contents of each and every statute not known to be repealed would be required to be ascertained, it would be necessary that any one seeking to consolidate the law upon any other subject than that of turnpikes should examine the provisions of those very sixteen repealed statutes, unless, by a previous investigation, he had

had discovered that they had been repealed. To illustrate our meaning still further, let us look at the contents of the statute 17th & 18th Vic., c. 83, entitled, 'An Act to amend the Laws relating to the Stamp Duties.' That statute, which most persons would have regarded exclusively as a Stamp Act, contains a section (the eleventh,) which defines what shall be deemed bank notes within the meanings of 7th & 8th Vic., c. 32, and 8th & 9th Vic., c. 37 & 38. Now, how could a consolidation of the statutes relating to bankers be accurately made which did not incorporate that section relating to bank notes? and how could that be effected without a careful examination of all the statutes seriatim? and in the event of the repeal of the 17th & 18th Vic., c. 83, how could the necessity of its examination be dispensed with excepting an expurgation of that statute, as a repealed statute, had in some way or the other been previously made? If, then, it is sought to economise time and labour of research, and to get rid of needless repetitions, is it not clear that a critical examination of all the statutes is previously needed—first, to ascertain what have been repealed, and, of those repealed, what have been revived by the repealing of the repealing statutes themselves (for Lord Brougham's Act, 13th & 14th Vic., c. 21, before referred to, does not extend to statutes anterior to the year 1850), and then to search for and extract those casual pieces of legislation which are to be found promiscuously scattered up and down in statutes where they would be least expected to be met with, and which a mere classification of the statutes, ranged under their several titles, would fail to discover? Let this plan be put into operation, and the work of classification and consolidation may be satisfactorily entered upon, with a reasonable expectation that, when completed, an accurate and faithful digest of the Statute Law will have been secured.

We have no sinister views, or any unfriendly feeling towards the present Statute Law Commissioners; but, as law reformers, we are anxious that the deformities which now disfigure our legal system should be swept away without an instant's unnecessary delay, and that the injustice which, under the sanction of our laws, is hourly committed, should not be perpetuated through the apathy or lukewarmness of those to whom its reformation has been entrusted. We do not forget the vast chasm which time has interposed since the scheme which we have ventured to insist upon was first chalked out by the great Lord Bacon; nor can we fail to remember that one generation has already passed away since the reform of the Statute Law was first initiated, and that, since that epoch, our advance has been so tardy that the lapse of upwards of twenty years has hardly brought us nearer to the consummation of our wishes.

But much as we desire that the work of Statute Law Consolidation should be rapidly completed, we are not anxious that it should be presented to the world in an immature or unsettled condition. We think that the Statute Law should not only be compressed within the smallest limits, but that it should be fashioned with all the amendments which experience of its defectiveness has demonstrated to be necessary. Revision and amendment of the statutes we hold to be little less important than their consolidation; and the labour which would be required to accomplish the one, would serve most materially to effect the other. Indeed, so natural does it appear to be to correct inaccuracies, or supply omissions in portions of a work into which it is sought, by a large and wholesome reform, to introduce harmony and method, that an objector, we conceive, would be somewhat perplexed to discover any tangible reason why, for this purpose, unity of action should not be established. Who could enjoy more favourable opportunities of indicating the various verbal incongruities which would present themselves during the progress of the work, and which it would be desirable to remove, than those to whom the duty of consolidation had been entrusted? and if they were men of adequate capacity and ability, how desirable would it be that their experience should be profitably employed in suggesting such alterations and modifications in the statutes as they deemed necessary, where, from lapse of time or other causes, they had become incompatible and inconvenient in practice. Proposed alterations would, of course, be carefully weighed by the commissioners before they met with their approval; and when they had received their assent, they would necessarily undergo the further ordeal of discussion and deliberation in the Houses of Parliament; so that, whether they involved mere verbal inaccuracies or omissions, or a change in some important legislative provision, there would be little ground to apprehend either precipitate or ill-considered legislation. The statutes, as consolidated under their several titles, would, when presented to Parliament for confirmation or re-enactment, of course embody the then existing Statute Law; and we would venture to suggest, that wherever amendments were considered necessary, the words proposed to be inserted or omitted, or the clauses to be expunged or introduced, should be bracketed in the margin, and be specified to be amendments submitted to the legislature for its sanction. Thus the attention of the legislature would be directed to, and specially fixed upon the alterations proposed, and the means would be afforded of duly estimating their value, by their comparison with the law as it then stood. Nor, indeed, is this any novel proposition, for we find that the Laws of the State of New York, which have been reduced into a code, were subjected, at the same time,

time, to a most careful revision, and that the amendments proposed by the revisers were incorporated in the code, after having been submitted to the legislature for their sanction. In an introductory note to the code of the Law of Real Property of the State of New York, it is stated that

'The code of laws of the State of New York underwent a most entire revision in the year 1830, and in no branch of the law were more important alterations then effected than in the law of real estate. Those changes were made, with but few exceptions, in accordance with the suggestions of the revisers, John Duer, Benjamin F. Butler, and John C. Spencer, who, in their report to the legislature in 1827, stated fully and clearly, in the shape of a note to each section, which they proposed for enactment, the then existing defects of the law, and the manner in which, in their opinion, the proposed section would remedy such defects.'

The Statute Law Commissioners might most advantageously follow the precedent established by the law reformers of America; and, if they were bold enough to do so—resolved that the reform of the Statute Law should be a real work and not a sham—our statutes would be expurgated, consolidated, revised, and amended, and a code of Statute Law established which would no longer cause us to mourn over the apathy or the fruitless labours of our law reformers. This subject was pointedly adverted to in an address delivered by Lord John Russell on Jurisprudence and Amendment of the Law before the Association for the Promotion of Social Science at Birmingham in the last year. He said:—

'I now come to a question of the greatest importance. I maintain we must not be merely satisfied with transcribing ancient laws and calling them new—we must not put errors into new Acts of Parliament under the name of consolidation; when we attempt to consolidate we must also amend. I say this, because a bill was introduced into Parliament last session which proposed to inflict the punishment of death for offences which no judge would think of enforcing. When we make new laws, we must take care that they are such as can be executed and are in consonance with the spirit of the times. If we merely take a jumble of acts containing provisions condemned by the country, and whilst consolidating them only repeat their errors, we are like those persons described by Dryden who had their portraits taken—

> "To stand recorded at their own request
> To future times a libel and a jest."

The laws must be made consistent with the spirit of the times; and this opens for consideration a great question, to which many men of influence and talent have devoted themselves. For my own part, I have come to the conclusion that the consolidation of the laws must be preceded by their amendment.'

It has been suggested that his lordship, as the context seems to show, made use of the word 'consolidation' to express the final settlement of the law in a systematic form after the several processes of expurgating and grouping had been passed through, and that his lordship's observation was directed to an ultimate code such as has been framed for the state of New York out of the Statute Law of England by Mr. David Dudley Field and his colleagues. But whatever be the sense in which the expression was intended to be used, it is perfectly clear that his lordship was of opinion that consolidation should not be unaccompanied, if not

preceded by amendment, and that errors which were demonstrated to be such, and matter which had become obsolete, ought not to be continually reproduced and re-enacted, as though they were an essential and a vital part of the law of the land. In this opinion we think that most persons will concur who have analysed this question through the unobstructed medium of their common sense. No Government which is anxious to promote the welfare of the people can long remain indifferent to the importance of this subject; and no Government which desires to see the laws of the country respected should relax in its endeavours to make them just and equitable by the earnest prosecution of a work which will serve to render them at once more easy of access and more intelligible. To tell the people that they must obey the laws, and that their violation will subject them to punishment, and then further to tell them that they will find the articles of those laws dispersed through forty volumes of Statutes, and through a thousand volumes of Reports, is practically to violate the provisions of the Great Charter, and to repudiate the theory of our constitution, which proclaims that justice shall not be withheld from, or sold to any man. The establishment of rights and the redress of wrongs can only be effected through the recognised channels of legal action; and these are made available to none who cannot afford to purchase the requisite knowledge from those who, having devoted a life to its acquisition, are alone competent to afford it. Under the most auspicious circumstances, with laws condensed and codified, it will never be possible to place all men upon an equality in this respect; for the complicated wants of a civilised community forbid the indulgence of the hope that its laws can ever be made so simple as to become popularised in encyclopœdias and in handbooks. Still a great stride may be made in this direction; and there seems, at all events, no reason why we should stand still and refrain from making any effort to familiarise the people with our laws, simply because to do so must be a work of considerable time and labour, and be attended with more than ordinary difficulty. Difficulties would speedily vanish if the work of codification were resolutely undertaken; and though it might not be practicable to engage in the task of codifying the Statute and the Common Law contemporaneously, we have little doubt that the codification of the Statute would greatly facilitate the codification of the Common Law. The one would naturally follow upon the accomplishment of the other; and a lucid enunciation of their principles perspicuously arranged would prove so valuable an acquisition that all would be amazed that our law should have been so long maintained in its existing state of intricacy and confusion.

To make sure, however, of what has been gained, and to prevent the necessity of future commissions, it will be necessary to delegate

delegate to some responsible authority the superintendence of our future legislation. All the parts of our legal system must henceforth be made subordinate to the preservation of the harmony of the whole, and the enactment of legislative measures must be so controlled as to render the introduction of inconsistencies and positive errors into our Statute Law a matter of impossibility. Every proposed measure must be subjected to a careful examination and comparison with previous legislation upon the same subject, and then we may hope to arrest the future accumulation of statutes, excepting in those cases where new legislation is from time to time required to meet new wants and the altered circumstances of society. We forbear from inquiring by what machinery this important end may be best attained, but we commend it to the serious consideration of all who are studious of their country's good, as a fitting corollary to the Consolidation and Amendment of the Statute Law.

ART. III.—1. *Burning of the Dead, or Urn Sepulture.* By a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. 1857.

2. *Report on General Scheme for Extra-mural Sepulture presented to the two Houses of Parliament.* 1850.

'EAT, or be eaten,' is said to be the great law of nature. We swallow animalculæ while we live—when we die, they devour us in their turn. But a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons has come forward, who prefers that the maw-worms of the grave should not ultimately pasture themselves on his body. He has conceived the idea of reviving the ancient mode of urn sepulture, and the transmutation of our remains into the elements by means of fire. Moreover, he supports his theory by reasons which may not be without their weight with advocates of sanitary reform, and even with admirers of art generally. What is to be said on the subject we will presently lay before our readers, premising, however, that we do not commit ourselves to the advocacy either of the views or the theology set forth in this little *brochure*.

According to Kant, death is the only dreamless sleep. 'Perhaps without the wearying but salutary pain of dreams, sleep would be death.' It is variously regarded by mortals according to temperament, creed, disposition, and state of health. It may be what the sect of Moravians so beautifully term 'their sleep,' or it may be the life change of the Pantheist, where death itself is *not*: but what we call death is only the beginning of a new form of life.

> 'Nothing but doth suffer an earth change,
> Into something rich and strange.'
>
> Chateaubriand

Chateaubriand has finely described the strict analogy between our gradual decay and that of all other forms of nature. 'The leaves falling like our years; the flowers fading like our hours; the clouds fleeting like our illusions; the light diminishing like our intelligence; the sun growing cold like our affections; the river becoming frozen like our lives—all bear secret relation to our destinies.' So is death the order of nature. Still death—always death—whatever idea we may choose to attach to it is known to ancient and modern, Pagan and Christian, savage or civilised, Mystic or Atheist, as the one thing inevitable, which may be scoffed at, but cannot be cheated—whom we may not desire to invite, but whose invitation may not be refused. Now, perhaps, in comparison with what awaits us after death, we ought to care little for that which may befal our untenanted bodies. Standing on the eve of departure from this earth—rinded, as it is, with the ashes of many thousand years—these considerations should appear infinitely contemptible, invisibly small; but in actual experience it is otherwise. That our bodies should be decently buried, and the expenses thereof discharged in preference to all other claims, forms, as we know, the foremost article in every respectable Englishman's last will and testament;—that a man should direct his body to be disposed of in any eccentric fashion, or uncared for in the ordinary mode, is almost considered evidence of mental derangement;—that his body should be given for dissection is the crowning disgrace to the malefactor;—that it should be interred without the usual rites is the thought that has been proposed to deter the suicide;—that a corpse should be left neglected and unburied has from all times been the most cruel insult which the living can offer to the dead. Wherefore all nations have had their funeral rites more or less mysterious, imposing, and costly, according to their degree of civilisation or their progress in religion and poetic feeling. Let the author speak:—

'As we cast aside a garment that is worn out, or is so torn and tattered that it will no longer cover us; as we leave a house that is falling into ruin and is no longer fit to shelter us, so do we depart from our mortal bodies, and we regard them with the same kind of interest and affection. A cloak or coat that we have worn during a long voyage or journey, although it may be but "a thing of shreds and patches," is seldom thrown away without a sigh, and the house in which we have dwelt for many years becomes strangely endeared to us. So, too, when those that are beloved have left us either for a distant part of this world or for another, do we not cherish and mourn over the inanimate things that were most intimately connected with their presence among us, as the room, the bed, the chair that is still called *his* or *hers*? And yet we never speak to *them* as if the missing one were in his once accustomed place.'

It must be admitted that, so soon as that mysterious principle which holds our dust together has fled, it is the signal for a putrefying decay and a rapid decomposition into other elements; and

and that, in the progress of that decomposition, certain gases are evolved, which, holding in their combination a large amount of putrescent animal matter, are not only of a disgusting effluvium, but also of a most poisonous and destructive nature. Grant that this is but a transmutation to new forms of life, it may well be a consideration to philanthropists how this necessary process may be begun and carried on so as least to imperil the health and happiness of humanity—in a word, how we may dispose of our dead with the smallest amount of injury to the living. Among some nations water is selected as the hiding-place of the dead. By our mariners it has been a matter of necessity; and the deep salt sea has received into its insatiable depths more brave men and fair women, more loving hearts and hoarded treasure, than can well be summed up in history or told of in poetry. Down the waters of the sacred Ganges or Hooghley float innumerable corpses, which may be seen continuing their dismal voyage covered by birds of prey already commencing their disgusting meal. There are lands where bodies are left to decompose in the air—where wild dogs, jackals, and vultures perform the last offices, leaving the well-picked skeleton to whiten in the sun. In one island in Polynesia the corpse of a man is suspended about two feet from the ground, until a watcher, appointed for the purpose, sees the skull drop off, which is then carried to the widow, who henceforth wears it hung about her person as a memento or charm. The custom of embalming, as performed by the Egyptians and other nations of antiquity, is at best an unnatural and imperfect effort to interfere with the laws of nature.

'In the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons in London may be seen the first wife of one Martin Van Butchell, who, at her husband's request, was embalmed by Dr. William Hunter and Mr. Carpenter, in the year 1775. No doubt extraordinary pains were taken to preserve both form and feature, and yet what a wretched mockery of a once lovely woman now appears, with its shrunken and rotten-looking bust, its hideous mahogany-coloured face, and its *remarkably fine set of teeth*. Between the feet are the remains of a green parrot, whether immolated or not at the death of its mistress is uncertain, but, as it still retains its plumage, it is a far less repulsive-looking object than the larger biped. By the side of Mrs. Van Butchell is the body of another woman embalmed by a different process, about the same period. She is even more ugly than her neighbour. Then there are Egyptian mummies rolled and unrolled, and almost tumbling to pieces. Mummies from Peru and Teneriffe, and one poor fellow from our antipodes, who has been sun-baked by his friends, it being the custom of some Australian tribes to let their dead dry and wither in the open air. He is tied up in a bundle, and looks about the most horribly grotesque mummy of them all.'

It was once, indeed, a question in one of our English courts of law whether iron coffins were legally used, and Lord Stowell pronounced the following opinion:—'All contrivances that, whether intentionally or not, prolong the time of dissolution beyond the period at which the common local understanding and usage have fixed, are an act of injustice unless compensated in some way or other.'

other.' This would seem to point the finger of reprehension to that grievous corruption which exists in most of our older churches, the family vaults, which are at once the sepulchre of the dead and the pest-houses of the living. The sense of smell, like our other senses, was given us not only to guide us to pleasure but to warn us of danger. Every disagreeable smell is not, therefore, necessarily noxious; but few can have failed to experience a certain sensation of nausea, and difficulty of respiration, when they inhale for any length of time that faint earthy scent of death which lingers about some of our most beautiful and ancient churches and cathedrals. But of this more anon. There is another mode of disposing of dead bodies among certain nations which prevails among the loyal subjects of the kings of the cannibal islands—namely, to eat them. Whole crews of sailors have been transmuted in this inglorious manner. The following fact was communicated to Commodore Wilkes, of the exploring expedition, by a savage of the Feejee Islands. He stated that a vessel, the hull of which was still lying on the beach, had come ashore in a storm, and that all the crew had fallen into the hands of the savages. 'What did you do with them?' inquired Wilkes.—'Killed them,' answered the savage. 'What did you do with them after you had killed them?' demanded the commodore.—'Eat them—good,' returned the cannibal. 'Did you eat them all?' inquired the half-sick commodore.—'Yes; all but one.' 'And why did you spare that one?' asked Wilkes.—'Because he taste too much like tobacco—couldn't eat him nohow,' was the curious response.

Cremation, or the destruction of human remains through the action of fire, was the most extensively used, and was considered the most honourable mode by most of the nations of antiquity. And thence the idea of the funeral pyre and urn sepulture is as much associated with heathenism as burial in the earth is with Christianity, though there is, in truth, no necessary connection between the two. Though it is now well ascertained that the body of the poet Shelley was burnt, from reasons pertaining to the quarantine regulations, it was at the time considered an additional proof—had any been required—of his determined hostility to Christian observances; and it was with some little difficulty that a clergyman could be persuaded to read the burial-service over his remains. The Greeks commonly burned their dead on the sixth or seventh day after death; but up to that time myrrh, gum of cedar-tree, salt, wax, and many costly and sweet-scented drugs, honey, balm, and bitumen were used to prevent any disagreeable odour. The funeral pile itself was composed of fir or pine wood, generally in the form of an altar. Pitch, turpentine, and other inflammable substances were spread over the pile, and cypress trees were set round at a certain distance.

tance. Then the eyes of the corpse were generally opened, and if a wind arose it was considered a favourable omen. When all was consumed, the calcined bones and ashes, soaked in costly wines, were gathered together and placed in the funeral urn, which was consigned to the sepulchre. The Romans interred their dead, in the first instance, and adopted the custom of burning them from the Greeks; but not to a very great extent until towards the end of the Republic. It was most general under the emperors, and gradually fell into disuse about the end of the fourth century, when Christianity became the prevalent creed. But the Greek and Roman laws alike prohibited the burning or burying of the dead within any city, both from sanitary and civil considerations. The Greek *koimeterion*, or bed of slumber, was generally at a considerable distance outside of the towns. The Romans frequently made their tombs by the road-side; and when the bodies of the latter were not burnt they were enclosed in stone coffins. So sacred were the tombs, that they served often as a place of refuge in times of persecution. The resting-place of the Jews was called *Bethaim*. For the most part, they buried their dead, burning sweet spices on the couch where the corpse rested. Cremation was, however, not entirely unused among them, as reference to the books of the Old Testament will show. Of Asa, king of Judah, it is recorded: 'And they buried him in his own sepulchres, which he had made for himself in the city of David, and laid him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours and divers kinds of spices prepared by the apothecaries' art: and they made a very great burning for him.' (2 Chron. xvi. 14.) 'All the valiant men arose, and went all night, and took the body of Saul and the bodies of his sons from the wall of Beth-shan, and came to Jabesh, and burnt them there. And they took their bones, and buried them under a tree at Jabesh, and fasted seven days.' (1 Sam. xxxi. 12, 13.)

'A people called Balcarians used to place the dead man in a large earthen vessel, and, carefully excluding the flame, heap piles of burning wood upon it, until incineration was complete. Certain northern tribes burned the body in its grave, and marked the spot with white pebbles arranged on the ground in the form of a human figure. The Chinese were accustomed to place the deceased in the hollow of a living tree, and pile heaps of fuel round it. In the island of Japan, and in some parts of Asia, even at the present time, the dead are burned on piles of resinous wood and combustible matter.'

Now if it can be proved that transmutation by fire is indeed the most rapid, safe, and cleanly mode of disposing of mortal remains, that by its means matter may be at once resolved into that which is harmless and inodorous, it may be a question whether there are really any strong theological reasons against it which should outweigh its advantages, and whether, sooner or later, we shall not have to sacrifice a prejudice which, if it continues, bids fair to see our

our land one vast burial-ground—a mass of rottenness thick with human remains. 'The old fathers of the church say but little on the subject of burning or burying, although they generally enjoin the latter mode. . . . St. Jerome speaks of the remains of saints and holy men being wrapped up in precious linen enclosed in a small urn. . . . Theodosius, who was a Christian emperor, published an edict at Constantinople as late as the end of the fourth century, forbidding burials within cities or in churches, and this especially referred not only to bodies laid in coffins, but also to ashes or relics kept above ground in urns.' That the idea has lingered among us we must admit, since most of us will remember what a favourite form of ornament is the representation of an urn in our cemeteries or churchyards, hung with flowers, or half concealed by drapery.

Aristotle affirms that it is better to be just to the dead than the living; and Pliny counts concern for the dead body one of the inherent weaknesses of humanity. A sentence of Sir Thomas Brown's contains a deeper wisdom and a purer faith: ''Tis all one where we lye, or what becomes of our bodies after we are dead, ready to be anything in the extasie of being ever.' There is, however, to most of us, an inexpressible charm in the idea of our village churchyard, 'where the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.' A certain hallowed sentiment seems to linger round it, and custom, memory, and association unite to strengthen this feeling. It is a superstition in some places that when the grass springs green on the lately-tenanted grave, it is God's sign that we must cease to mourn, and that our sorrow should not be without hope. In all Tennyson's poems there is no more exquisite thought or passionate affection than that expressed in two lines, where, speaking of Maud, he says:—

> 'For my heart would beat to her tread
> Were it earth in its earthy bed.'

The moss-grown grave, the gray stone that records the names of those who sleep below, the ivy-covered church, all these are very dear, even to men born and bred in the hubbub and turmoil of great cities; and how much more to the villager who is, perhaps, inevitably more simple and reverent in his tastes! One of our most eloquent modern sophists has well described our village church: 'There still ring Sunday after Sunday its old revered bells, and there come still the simple peasants in their simple dresses; pastor and flock still with their old belief; there beneath its walls and ruins they still gather down into the dust, fathers and children sleeping there together, waiting for immortality, wives and husbands resting side by side, in fond hope that they shall wake and link again the love-chain which death has broken; so simple, so reverend, so beautiful!' After reading this we almost feel the old

old prejudice against joint-stock cemetery companies revive in its ancient vigour within us. It did unquestionably appear shocking to every refined mind that the last offices of the dead should be a source of pecuniary profit; that a money-making scheme should be advertised and puffed forth with that express object; that the rise and fall of the value of the portion of our mother earth which was to receive our mortal remains should be keenly watched and calculated on by the greedy eyes of speculators. And yet these things are of necessity, so long as things are done, as among the Saxon race they are ever best done, by private enterprise in lieu of the arbitrary surveillance of a too paternal government; and they ought not, in reality, to trouble or disgust us more than the extortionate charges and innumerable items of an undertaker's bill have done a hundred times before. Moreover, if we carefully analyse our prepossessions on the subject, we shall find that, in truth, they extend only to the simplicity and beauty of village or country processions, and to the stillness and peace that seem inherent to our rustic churchyards. There is rarely any sentiment connected with the gloomy and noisy burial-place of our crowded cities. When the author of 'Ten Thousand a-year' lays Mr. Gammon in his narrow resting-place in St. Andrew's churchyard, Holborn, no one mourns over the selection or envies the situation; we feel that it is dismal more than sad, and the wickedness of the dead man reconciles us to the choice of the spot for his grave; for no author buries his favourite hero or heroine otherwise than beneath the shadow of the old village church, or perhaps under a cypress or white cross in some foreign cemetery, or, as one of the Pilgrims of the Rhine was interred, on the banks of a river in the chosen haunt of the fairies.

Some seven years ago there was a commission appointed to inquire into the state of our churchyards. A report was presented to the Houses of Parliament which contained a recommendation to close at once most, if not all, of our metropolitan churchyards, and also those in large cities which were overcrowded. This was combined with a general scheme for the substitution of extramural sepulture in its place. The facts then disclosed were of such a revolting and alarming nature as to disturb the nation from its usual phlegmatic calmness. The truth is, that burying round the church was not the custom, as by many erroneously supposed, of the early Christians, but was an abuse first introduced into this country about A.D. 750, and was more for the glorification of the worshippers and parishioners than of the God whom they served. After that period, notwithstanding the existence of a canon which forbade the practice, clergymen began, for certain fees, to permit persons of position, or eminent sanctity or learning, to be interred within the sacred walls, especially in the side aisles, perhaps in the hope

hope that the living, by seeing the record of the good deeds of the dead, might be moved to emulation. It is to this day a rule that without the consent of the incumbent this cannot be done.

We do not propose to disgust or weary our readers by the details of certain horrors to be found in the blue books more than is needful to lay the gist of the question before them. Bodies may undergo decomposition in two ways—the flesh may be converted into adipocere, or may gradually putrify. It is not precisely determined how this is effected, but there are very curious details concerning the fact to be found in the journal of M. Thouret. When La Cimetière des Innocens at Paris underwent improvements, some of the pits there which were capable of holding 12,000 bodies were opened for the first time for fifteen years. Nothing appeared in the coffins but a mass of soft gray-white matter, so ductile that even the threads of the linen had left their impression on it. The bones had lost all solidity, the face was completely undistinguishable, all was converted into this peculiar substance which has received the name of *adipocere* (from *adeps* 'fat,' and *cera*, 'wax'). It would appear that this change only takes place where masses of bodies were accumulated together. The gases evolved during the ordinary process of decomposition are carbonic acid, nitrogen, ammonia, &c., in different proportions. Supposing a body is buried as much as nine feet below the surface, in sandy or gravelly soil, these gases are found to permeate laterally, as into sewers, drains, &c., to a distance of thirty feet. Of course they would be evolved upwards to a much greater amount. Dr. Playfair estimates that the gas arising annually from the decomposition of 1,117 bodies per acre is about 55,261 cubic feet. Thus for the 52,000 interments and upwards which annually take place in our metropolis, we receive in exchange 2,572,580 cubic feet of noxious gases, holding, in their composition, putrified animal matter. Matter may be transmuted or compressed, but it cannot be annihilated. Now we have under the present system annually $18{,}310{,}953\frac{808}{1117}$ cubic feet of poisonous gas to deal with. What are we to do with it? We may solder it up in leaden coffins, we may let it loose and discolour the earth, poison our neighbour, defile the air, and putrify the water as we choose.* Generally for

* We may, however, quote the following opinion of Dr. Angus Smith, who is looked upon as the highest authority on this subject:—'Although the full elucidation of the whole chemical process is still to be made, I am glad that we are able from sound data to assert that the ground may be made to cover up every taint of impurity, if we adhere strictly to reasonable conditions; and that we may not only go to our graves in peace without fear of poisoning those who visit them, but may also visit the graves of our friends without turning away with sanitary disgust.' Dr. Smith considers that a great chemical fact has been overlooked, viz., 'the power of absolute disinfection existing in the soil,' or, in other words, 'the entire wholesomeness of the atmosphere over a well-covered grave, in a well-drained soil through which water is flowing.'—Ed.

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three or four feet above a grave the soil is stained and black, pitchy, and exceedingly offensive; the smell is emphatically that of death. Water flowing near churchyards or burial-grounds contains that which communicated putrefaction to the blood when it is used for drinking purposes, producing a disease similar to the rot in sheep. The accidental inundation of waters into burial-places, or the fresh opening of old graves, have been surely and invariably followed by illness in the surrounding districts. Typhus, dysentery, and the like diseases break out with terrible violence. Dr. Bennet, the house surgeon at St. Louis, found that the wounds and sores of the patients under his care in that hospital became foul and putrescent even with only the wind blowing from the Mountfaucon cemetery.

But now, notwithstanding parliamentary prohibitions, the result of these disclosures, and not losing sight of the increased provisions made by all large towns by the formation of cemeteries, have we not contented ourselves with ameliorating an evil, not curing it—postponing a danger, not preventing it? For it must be the conviction of all far-seeing people, that in our densely-populated country, with our towns and cities which spread and enlarge themselves in every direction, all the objections in evidence against churchyard burial will sooner or later be good with respect to cemeteries. We remove the miasma far from us, and if it would stay there, or the people would abstain from approaching it, all might be well. But gases, whether harmless or noxious, obey the laws of chemistry and not those of the House of Commons, and a free people will build out in any direction which they fancy. A cemetery is considered rather a pretty sight by many. In a few years our new burial-grounds will in all probability be surrounded by houses; and any one who will take the trouble of examining the map of London appended to the report, must observe that the five principal cemeteries are so placed as to belt our metropolis. Whichever quarter the wind is in it must of necessity blow over some vast burial-ground. There is at this instant an invisible but destructive circle of miasma surrounding London, each year increasing in amount and intensity. Situated frequently on an eminence, water naturally descends thence full of impurity and putrescent animal matter. The old abomination of pits, or accumulation of many bodies in the same vast grave, is practised, and all things promise that the day cannot be far off when a report upon the evils of cemeteries will contain the same description of evidence as that recorded in 1850 on the horrors of churchyards. There is one practice which might be used in burial-grounds, though it only mitigates the evil in a very moderate degree, namely, promoting vegetation. Roots actively absorb the gases generated by decomposition; trees thrive when planted over graves,

graves,* their roots penetrating the decayed wood of the coffins and drawing from the contents a concentrated form of nourishment. But it is obvious that this could only be practised to a very limited extent, and is only possible where there is ample space and where no necessity exists for placing more than one body in a grave, as, for instance, in country places; but these are, unfortunately, precisely the spots where the evil effects are almost inappreciable.

Before commenting on the particular scheme of cremation recently propounded, we must notice one suggestion thrown out by the commissioners, which is so free from all objection, and appears so obviously excellent, that we are surprised it has not been carried out; we refer to the recommendation that in our cities public buildings should be erected where people might be permitted to place the remains of their relatives or friends until the time for interment. Such building or hall should be, of course, well ventilated and watched. The use of it might at first be voluntary, and not enforced until the custom became common. It is too true that in many a crowded alley or swarming lodging-house a whole family has no choice but to eat and sleep in the same room as that in which a dead body lies, tainting, with its horrible faint scent of corruption, an atmosphere already vitiated.

The following case occurred to our knowledge:—A little child was burnt—indeed, literally roasted to death—by accident. Five days elapsed before it could be buried; and for that space of time the poor little blackened, charred corpse stiffened and grew cold on the very table which served daily for dinner, during which meal it was placed, in a temporary way, on the floor. Now this was not choice, but sad necessity, for the poor, in their humble fashion, pay much reverence to their dead. Undertakers state (*vide* Report) that they are often applied to by those in humble circumstances for the use of a shed or outhouse in which the body may lie; and many witnesses assert 'that poor people would avail themselves thankfully of a public dead-house, provided that they were convinced that the remains would be treated with respect and integrity.'

What has been already advanced goes far to prove that transmutation by fire is the most rapid, cleanly, and innoxious mode of resolving bodies into elementary matter. The scheme proposed by M. Bonneau, now under consideration of the French Government, is as follows:—All cemeteries to be replaced by a large sarcophagus, where the corpses of both rich and poor should be laid

* Southey takes notice of this when he says—

'Be not thou
As is the black and melancholy yeugh
That strikes into the graves its baleful roots
And prospers on the dead.'—*Madoc.*

out

out on a metallic tablet, which, sliding by a rapid movement into a concealed furnace, would cause the bodies to be consumed in a few minutes; and with that taste for the *bizarre*, which is so truly French, he thinks 'that funeral urns would soon replace the China vases and bronze clocks now found on our mantel-pieces.' In the event of this mode becoming general, great caution would necessarily have to be exercised where the cause of death appeared to be involved in any mystery, as the action of fire would, of course, prevent any tell-tale evidence of poison or violence. The plan proposed by the Member of the College of Surgeons is a little different.

'On a gentle eminence, surrounded by pleasant grounds, stands,' as he supposes, 'a convenient, well-ventilated chapel. . . . In the centre of the chapel, embellished with appropriate emblems and devices, is erected a shrine of marble. . . . Within this—a sufficient space intervening—is an inner shrine covered with bright, non-radiating metal, and within this, again, a covered sarcophagus of fire-tempered clay. . . . As soon as the body is deposited within, sheets of flame at an immensely high temperature rush through the long apertures from end to end, and acting as a combination of a modified oxy-hydrogen blowpipe with the reverberatory furnace, utterly consume and decompose the body in an incredibly short space of time. . . . The funeral service commences. At an appointed signal the end of the coffin, which is placed just within the opening in the shrine, is removed, and the body is drawn rapidly, but gently and without exposure into the sarcophagus. . . Meanwhile the body is committed to the flames to be consumed, and the words "ashes to ashes" may be appropriately used. The organ peals forth a solemn strain and a hymn or requiem for the dead is sung. In a few minutes, or even seconds, without any perceptible noise or commotion, all is over, and nothing but a few pounds or ounces of light ash remain. This is carefully collected by the attendants, a door communicating with the chapel is thrown open, and the relic, enclosed in a vase of glass or other material, is brought in to the mourners to be finally enshrined in the funeral urn of marble, alabaster, stone, or metal.'

Such is the *modus operandi* proposed. It is, of course, open to objections, for the process as described would be both costly and difficult; but if scientific men once turned their attention to the subject, no doubt very perfect and more simple apparatus may be introduced. Whether such a mode of interment would ever become popular, even if it could be enforced, is very dubious. In England we are not fond of being dictated to, of having 'these things better managed, as they do in France.' There, in Munich, Frankfort, &c., from the moment you close your eyes in death, to the time when your relatives deposit you beneath the sod, you are washed, anointed, dressed, measured, screwed down, and finally lifted up and carried out under the surveillance of a paternal Government. In these places, burning of the dead might be successfully enforced; and provided a little dramatic effect be skilfully introduced, and the mourners and spectators sufficiently put *en scène*, we do not despair of its achieving popularity. But in England, if it ever were to be carried out, the movement would have to come from the educated classes. If the gentry gave their bodies to be burned, perhaps the poor would in time follow their example; and, after all, the burning of the dead could not be more

more odious than the compulsory Vaccination Act, which had terrors inexpressible for the uneducated; the Anatomy Bill, which lent an additional horror to the hospital and workhouse; and the regulation against further intramural interments, which last severed, in imagination, many a holy tie, and took not a little consolation from the bed of the poor dying one, who—superstitiously perhaps, and foolishly, as we may in our hard wisdom think it, but at any rate earnestly and tenderly—yearned for the assurance that after death his bones should rest in the grave of those dear ones whom he had best loved on earth.

The question, however, still remains for consideration—How shall we dispose of our dead? We cannot alter what has been done, and the vast mass of bodies beneath the sod must rot and decompose, as in the days gone by—*Le vin est tiré, il faut le boire.* Shall we continue the practice until our cemeteries rival our churchyards?*

ART. IV.—1. *Cowper's Homer* (*republished with his Works*).
2. *The Iliads of Homer.* By George Chapman. (Republished by Charles Knight. 1843.)
3. *The Iliad of Homer, faithfully translated into unrhymed metre.* By F. W. Newman. Walton and Maberly. 1857.
4. *Studies on Homer and on the Homeric Age.* By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. 3 vols. 8vo. At the University Press, Oxford. 1858.

WHAT is *Epic* Poetry? This is a question very obvious to ask, not so obvious to answer. The word was applied by the Greeks to certain poems ascribed principally to Homer, and has been extended by us to Virgil's Æneid, to Tasso's Jerusalem, and even to poems of a very different aspect, such as those of Dante and Milton. An ordinary Englishman is apt to say, that any *long narrative* poem is Epic; and if he does not admit the Lady of the Lake into this class, perhaps his chief reason is, that it is not long enough.

In discussing, what is the essential idea which lies at the bottom of the word Epic, we are not dealing with a mere verbal question. There are real qualities peculiar to Epic poetry, qualities

* At the convent of the Capuchins, in Rome, the monks as they die are interred about five feet deep, *without* any coffin, and a quantity of quick lime is thrown on the body. At the end of twelve months the flesh is totally destroyed, and in a year or two more the skeleton is taken up and placed in the vaults, where it stands exposed to view along with its ghastly companions, while the old grave is ready for the reception of the next brother who may be claimed by death. The use of quick lime is customary, also, in some of the largest cemeteries in the Roman district. Of course this, in effect, is burning of the dead, though by a slower and less direct process than the more elegant and classical operation of fire.

strongly

strongly felt, even when dimly discerned. The Epos therefore denotes a real, not an arbitrary, division. Without farther argument, we shall give our own reply, that it is a *narrative poem* founded *on great events and believed to be true.* While the events are believed, they are *real* to the hearer, but no longer. Hence the poems of Dante and of Milton become tedious or even offensive, to those whose religious belief has deviated widely from the notions of hell, paradise, and predestination therein inculcated; and those parts of Tasso's great poem, which involve a belief in enchantments, great as is their beauty, provoke our impatience. Many say concerning them with Horace, *Incredulus odi.*

It may seem impossible to doubt whether more interest accrues to a tale from its being believed true. Every day we see the disappointment and annoyance suffered by children, when they learn that a beautiful tale (as that of King Lear) is not true; we see also that grown persons are as unwilling to surrender a belief in the siege of Troy, as their belief in the early Roman history. Nor could it be otherwise. Indeed with mature and preoccupied minds nothing is harder than to spare sympathy on pure and notorious fictions: human life has so many real sorrows, that we may well decline to vex ourselves with unrealities. Moreover the coincidences and groupings which may be selected from real history, are apt to be resented as incredible if proposed to us by a mere inventor. In true story we find substance, copiousness and life, compared with which every invented tale seems to be meagre and flimsy, nor indeed can it ever have that infinite background of perspective, which gives us such a sense of solidity. A pure fiction constructed by 'the rules of art' and in subservience to 'the laws of unity,' bears about the same relation to a genuine epic, as a small Greek temple to a vast Gothic cathedral; or as an elegant flower-garden to some magnificent mountain valley where beauty, grandeur and infinitude combine; so that the more intently you gaze, the more you see. In the historical plays of Shakespeare (though they are dramatic, not narrative) it is this background which chiefly gives their powerful illusion, rivets the interest, and leads to their being accepted as authentic even in the details. The interest to the Romans of the great historical epic of Ennius, as to the Persians of the great epic of Firdoosee, was from their earnest belief in its truth: and no doubt the same cause must have been at work with the Nibelungen and the Edda and the poems of the true Ossian. So too, the old Greek tragedians found it necessary to select subjects which were believed as true, generally selected out of the Epic cycle.

The real reason against poems upon subjects of near history, lies in the extreme difficulty of satisfying criticism. Nearly all poets, when they adopt a historical subject, palpably distort *the*

known facts for what they account 'artistic necessity,' and hereby in a critical age cause indignation. If the historical sense is appealed to at all, it must not be outraged; or the very opposite of interest is induced. On the other hand, if the subject is of deep and thrilling interest, it easily becomes too painful, when it is real and near. The poet Phrynichus dramatized the capture of Miletus by the Persians; but the Athenian judges, though they awarded him the prize of poetry, fined him for harrowing the feelings of the audience. It therefore may appear that *excess* of interest is a chief danger to be feared from an otherwise well-chosen historical poem. Even in small pieces, we see how apt such poetry is to become too fierce. Walter Scott's lines on the Massacre of Glencoe might have been well called revolutionary, had they been written soon after the event. Hence the subject of an Epic must be sufficiently distant to give us that softened interest which distinguishes poetry and art from recent history and politics.

Homer, equally with Tasso, wilfully mixes that which is *historical* (to his own belief and that of his hearers) with that which is *conventional*. That they all believed in the dynasty of Agamemnon and in the general events of the Trojan war, Bishop Thirlwall and Mr. Grote avow as strongly as Mr. Gladstone or Colonel Mure. That neither Homer nor his hearers believed Achilles to be son of a sea-goddess, we are sure will not be contested by Mure nor yet by Gladstone. There is no real difference of *principle*, as it appears to us, on this point between any of these critics: but their difference arises, as soon as we call on them to draw the line sharply between that which the poet meant for history and that which he meant for fiction. Mr. Grote maintains, not only that this cannot be certainly done, but that we lose our time in attempting to get any historical events *at all* out of such sources. Perhaps few will follow Mr. Grote to the full extent of this. Sometimes the poet seems to have no interests *as* a poet that can lead him aside, and to be aiming at truth, as he conceived of it. His attempts at political geography and ethnography are so elaborate and coherent, and his knowledge of Greece so extensive, that in such matters we receive his statements almost as unhesitatingly as those of Herodotus. But if Mr. Gladstone wish us farther to believe that the rape of Helen was the real moving *cause* of the Trojan war, we ask leave to enter protest, that we do not yet know Homer to have believed this himself. Between Greeks and Asiatics any excuse may have sufficed for a war, when ambition and hope prompted; and the abduction of a princess may have supplied the *excuse* desired. But the real motives must have lain deeper; nor would the invaders ever have been satisfied to withdraw, upon the mere restoration of the princess

princess with all her shawls and brocade. What Homer says on such topics was specious enough to go down with the uncritical warriors to whom he sang; but, as it appears to us, Mr. Gladstone argues too earnestly and closely concerning it. Whether Helen ever existed, he does not positively assert. He finds no difficulties about her but chronological ones, and these he tries to explain away. We may add, that his refined skill becomes superfluous, if we believe the Odyssey not to be from the same poet as the Iliad; for the Iliad by itself has no chronological difficulties about Helen.

But Mr. Gladstone's chief desire is to vindicate *Homer's* moral delicacy. He complains, that we do injustice to the poet, by imputing to him the view of Helen given by later writers of much coarser mind. Homer does not represent Helen (says he) as a faithless wife, but as one who has suffered a cruel violence. She was carried off by Paris *against her will*, and her whole offence consisted in finally acquiescing in her hard case, when she was wholly defenceless and in a strange man's power. In consequence, she was respected and pitied by Priam and Hector, and never felt anything but aversion and contempt for the husband to whom she submitted. Her extravagant self-stabbing accusations (for her favourite title for herself seems to be *she-dog*), have in them something 'almost Christian;' and she is always introduced by Homer as an interesting object and clothed with respectful epithets.—This Gladstonian view is undoubtedly a great improvement; we shall be glad to find it meet acceptance, though we certainly have misgivings. If Homer had felt the vast difference which Mr. Gladstone does between a Helen who eloped voluntarily and a Helen who submitted when constrained, we have difficulty in thinking that he would have left the circumstances so obscure, that until now they have been uniformly misconceived. Of course all the Greeks in Homer lay the whole blame on Paris, and decorously represent Helen to have suffered his violence: but a lady who easily reconciles herself to her ravisher, is always suspected by human nature (and not only by the depraved Greeks of the historic age) to have previously encouraged him to believe that violence will not be wholly unacceptable. Nor is it possible to forget, that a poet who can attribute to his chief gods loose amours which he would condemn in mortals, and this, without ceasing to reverence the gods, may pardon in 'Helen born of Jupiter' offences very like to those of her father, without relaxing morality in his own conception. Homer goes too far in the direction of Isocrates, to allow of our interpreting the two views as in proper contrast. 'One may point out many of the immortal goddesses,' says Isocrates, in his Encomium on Helen, 'who have proved frail against a mortal's beauty; not one of whom ever concealed the fact as disgraceful, but wished rather to

be celebrated for it. And here is the proof; for more persons have been made immortal for their beauty, than for all other virtues together.'

We confess, we do not find, and we do not demand, prosaic self-consistency in Homer as to his representation of these circumstances, which are the mere fantastic machinery of his great epic, and (as we think) were not intended to be dwelt upon and sharply brought out in Mr. Gladstone's fashion. We cannot receive either as fact or as consistent fiction, that the Trojans 'detested Paris as black Fate,' that Helen despised him, Hector condemned him, Priam grieved over him,—and yet that the whole nation and all 'the far-ealled allies' allowed this effeminate young man to have his way and involve them all in a wholly needless and fatal war. Where there are so many illogical representations, we deprecate argument so subtle and close.

Be this as it may; no higher tribute to Homer's undying greatness is possible, than the learning and interest, which at this distant time, in this remote island, are spent upon his works. On the studies of the Germans we will not speak, though K. O. Müller's work on Greek literature was written for us, and in English. Thirlwall, Grote and Mure were all retired students; but these three very ample volumes from Gladstone, a practical statesman, are indeed a phenomenon, and may well make common Englishmen open their ears to learn *what* is that Homer, who is able to inspire such enthusiasm. 'To one only of the countless millions of human beings,' says Mr. Gladstone, 'has it been given to draw characters by the strength of his own individual hand in lines of such force and vigour, that they have become from his day to our own the common inheritance of civilized man. That one is Homer.' Nor is it only in drawing character, that he so excels Virgil, Milton, and perhaps all poets known to us except Shakespeare; but in nearly every peculiarity which gives interest to a poem, a novel, a book of travels, a simple narrative, a debate,—he is supreme. The table of contents exhibited by Mr. Gladstone is a little book in itself. His first volume (576 pages) after six preliminary sections, chiefly on the composition and authority of the poems, is devoted to the early Greek Races, as discoverable in Homer and elucidated from other sources. The second volume (533 pages) is on the Religion and Morality of Homer. The third (616 pages) discusses the Homeric Polities, contrasts those of the Trojans and the Trojan character, besides dwelling on the Homeric Geography, and numerous peculiarities in the poem. It also contains an essay which had appeared in a separate form, contrasting Homer with other poets. This very ample work is addressed solely to Greek scholars, and is in fact hardly intelligible to others. Many of the pages bristle with Greek typography; and

and whether the writer do or do not convince such scholars as Grote, he at any rate must win respect for his vast erudition,* which appears to join an intimate knowledge of the greatest Italian and Latin poets with an exhaustive diligence and activity of thought concerning Homer himself. It is hard for us to conceive that any one capable of understanding Mr. Gladstone will read him without instruction, and we have no doubt that his great work will lead to a more eager study of Homer at both of the old Universities, where (we believe) the Iliad has been generally looked down on as a mere schoolbook, and the Odyssey has been almost ignored. For ourselves, we almost dread to make detailed remarks on Mr. Gladstone; because, while we feel his volumes to be quickening and suggestive, we find very much to differ from; and it is disrespectful to express dissent without giving reasons to the reader; in doing which it is hard to avoid being too scholastic or too ample.

Summarily we will say, the excellences of the book are, its earnest effort for truth, its hightoned morality, its contempt for everything mean and sensual, its spiritual breath, which every Christian will appreciate, its vehement desire to extend a love for that rectitude which it discerns in Homer, its sympathy with freedom and popular government, its delicate perceptions of meaning and of beauty, its thoroughgoing and laborious scholarship, and the example which it sets, how to win instruction from worthy study. On the other hand, in its mode of arguing we find certain pervading weaknesses. The Ethnology of the first volume is apt to refute itself by proving too much. According to Mr. Gladstone the Greeks or Hellenes are not much different from Helli, nor from Pelasgi; the Italians also are Pelasgi, and none of these differ gravely from the Persians. The Hellenes are akin to the royal Scythians of Herodotus, the Pelasgi to the common Scythians (ii. 403, &c.); and these common Scythians were of the same race as the Medes, and the royal Scythians came from *Herat*, or ancient Aria. Persia he calls the cradle of Achilles' family. In fact, we seem to be on the verge of justifying Herodotus's reasonings, who derives the hero Perseus from Persia, and Medea from the Medes. But as it is certain that in the time of Homer the Italians, the Greeks, the Scythians and the Persians

* Of Mr. Gladstone's *learning* and conscientious accuracy, we believe no competent judge will doubt. If now and then he falls into small error, we believe it generally arises from overdriving a theory, and adventuring unsound generalisations. He says (vol. iii. p. 536) that Homer never calls Achilles μίγας: but see Il. 18, 26.—He overstrains, when he says that Homer is unwilling to compare Greek beauties to Venus.—We think he wrongly (vol. iii. p. 128) interprets Il. 18, 508. The two gold talents are the *deposit* to be paid to the suitor who wins the cause. He strangely supposes that the *crowd* re-judge and reward the *judge* with two talents of gold.

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were mutually quite unintelligible, he gains nothing to the purpose by these identifications. The 'Helli' and the Pelasgi are but brute words to us; no useful deductions nor applications of them can be made. When Mr. Gladstone further recognises in Minos *Phœnician* extraction, and adds that 'the extent of his sway is supported by the tradition of *Pelasgus*,' he involves us in hopeless confusion. That those words which the Greek and Latin languages have in common may be regarded as 'Pelasgian,' is an assumption which others have made before Mr. Gladstone, but is not the less arbitrary and unproveable. In the details of linguistic argument we find frequent error; such as, identifying Latin *bellum* with Greek πόλεμος, when it is notorious that *duellum* is the older form of *bellum*. But we must not venture on to such ground.

The second volume, full as it is of fertile and interesting combinations, has the defect not only of oversubtlety, but of seeming to be written for the sake of a theological hypothesis. Mr. Gladstone believes that the Greek religion from Homer downward got worse and worse, and that all its good points may justly be referred to a patriarchal tradition. He would use Homer and the Greek history to prove that in Religion man (unassisted by *miracle*) never learns truth, and does nothing but corrupt the truth: while simultaneously our author upholds with great energy that in Morals no miraculous revelation is needed to teach men the truth.—Vol. ii. p. 420:—

'Mr. Grote says, that the "primitive import" of the words ἀγαθός, ἐσθλός, and κακός, relates "to power and not to worth;" and that the ethical meaning of them is a later growth, which "hardly appears until the discussions raised by Socrates and prosecuted by his disciples." *I ask permission to protest against whatever savours of the idea that any Socrates whatever was the patentee of that sentiment of right and wrong, which is the most precious part of the patrimony of mankind.* The movement of Greek morality with the lapse of time was chiefly downward and not upward.'

There seems to be a confusion here, which deserves to be more closely analysed. There is often a vast gap between the morality of a nation and the morality of its religion, and also between its moral theory and its practice. So too, in the same nation during its more civilised times we find the extremes of virtue and of vice, of high knowledge and of brutal ignorance coexisting side by side. Barbarians have for the most part one prevailing type of morality and of religious ideas: but under civilisation individualism develops itself powerfully in the few, and (through disorganisations, pampered wealth or tyranny) whole classes are often sunk into far deeper vice than anything known to the same nation in its barbarism. Thus while in one sense the Greek religion and Greek practical morality was always on the decline, in another sense (that is, as to the *theory* in the *noblest* minds) both

both religion and morals were constantly on the rise, from Homer to the contemporaries of Cicero.

We entirely admit to Mr. Gladstone, that the Greeks of Plato or even of Æschylus had worse vices by far than those of Homer's day: but we do not hence infer, that there were not individuals of the later times (say, Aristides, Socrates, Aristotle,) more virtuous than any of the contemporaries of Homer. Much less can it be allowed that Moral duty was not far better *understood* in the latter period. Undoubtedly, as a general rule, crimes of violence are looked on too leniently during a barbarous age, and licentiousness in the more civilised. Mr. Gladstone admits the former of these statements, and presses hard on the latter, doing the Homeric Greeks, as it seems to us, *more* than justice in comparison with their posterity. The tone of Homer in all that concerns the sexes, he justly says, is far purer, not only than that of later Greece, but than that of the polished Latins, and of many modern Christian poets. He might have added, that where Homer is pure, Pope makes him voluptuous, sometimes absurdly as well as offensively. Many of the Homeric legends have been depraved by the afteradditions: nor can it be denied, that the peculiar course taken by every form of Greek art and accomplishment engendered licentiousness and impurities of the most detestable kind. Even Socrates's purity is not at all of a tone that can satisfy Christian feeling. If we could for a moment believe him capable of uttering such things as Plato calmly puts into his mouth, we must use far stronger language against him: still, even in Xenophon the discourses attributed to him on these subjects are utterly unworthy of such a mind and heart. But when Mr. Gladstone would persuade us that the Homeric Greeks practised strict monogamy, and that their ignorance of Divorce is a valid reason (if we understand him) why the English Parliament shall not allow the remarriage of persons who have been legally divorced, he lays himself open in many ways. Who would care for divorce, in such a state of public feeling as Homer describes? Achilles, while raging against Agamemnon for snatching from him the beautiful captive widow Briseis, comforts himself by taking Diomede to his bed. Agamemnon, in restoring the woman whom he has carried off, offers one of his own three daughters in marriage to Achilles. The latter refuses the offer, saying that he will go home, and his father Peleus will give him a wife. Yet in this very speech (to sting Agamemnon) he calls Briseis 'his beloved *wife*.' Mr. Gladstone takes on himself a needless and too difficult a task in vindicating the purity of Achilles. '*Wife*' in this bitter and impassioned speech is not interpreted by him literally, for that would be suicidal to his argument; nor will he admit that it is a decorous word for concubine; although he cannot deny that

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at least Diomede is a concubine. But he says, Wife means Bride: Achilles *intended* to marry her. Intended! Truly in the lament over Patroclus Briseis avows that Patroclus had promised to use his influence to that effect. Well, Briseis is restored to Achilles, and succeeds to the honours of Diomede,—*without* any marriage. Is not this chivalrous defence of the hero much ado about nothing? In that rude and violent age there was as yet no pampered or effeminate vice. An effeminate prince could not have kept his throne for a single month. But the animal passions of the powerful were not to be restrained by the laws of Christian monogamy, any more in the tent of Achilles than in the court of Priam. Nor does Mr. Gladstone here seem to us to have applied his own excellent erudition. He says (ii. p. 493),—

'Among the Greek chieftains, cases of homicide are more frequent than those of bastardy. And when such instances [of bastardy] are mentioned, *it is not in the hardened manner of later times.* It is something at least, that in such matters a nation should be alive to shame, &c.'

Now surely it is not doubtful that the Homeric Greek has three words to express meaner births. The son of an avowed concubine is νόθος, as Teucer. Theano, wife of Antenor, brought up her husband's νόθον υἱόν. A child of unknown father is σκότιος (dark), a word of reproach, it seems, like *bastard;* but to avoid this reproach, they also use the more delicate term παρθένιος (maiden-born), like our phrase *natural son.* This ampler vocabulary implies that such births were much commoner than with us, though (as a set off) they had not that hideous trade in vice, the disgrace of old and of new civilization. Mr. Gladstone, who insists that the seven beautiful damsels offered to Achilles by Agamemnon, were *not* to gratify the hero's appetites, should not forget Agamemnon's express offer, about which there can be no mistake, to the hero Teucer. But enough of this.

The most curious part of Mr. Gladstone's third volume is its discussion concerning Homer's use of colour. Every schoolboy is aware both in Latin and in Greek how difficult it is to render the words of colour by fixed English equivalents. Mr. Gladstone, instead of relieving the difficulties, aggravates them, and seems to land us in the conclusion that Homer saw scarcely any colours in nature except those of a leadpencil sketch, which, beside black and white, shows something brown and something grey. What we were accustomed to accept as a purple cloak or rug, dark violet wool, a violet or purple sea, are all to be understood (it seems) as merely dark or brown: and so of many other things. Assuredly the phenomenon is curious, and the main point of it is the following. Homer never calls the sky *blue,* nor the earth *green;* and it is even uncertain whether he had any words at all to express the colours blue and green! We fully admit the strangeness of this,

this, but Mr. Gladstone is aware that it is not confined to Homer. The fact pervades the whole school of classical Greek poets, and very similar facts are found in the Latins. For dark blue or indigo Homer says κυάνεος, for rich violet blue ἰόεις, though Mr. Gladstone would pull both away from us. The varying tint of the Tyrian dye involves uncertainty; yet on the whole in Homer φοίνιξ seems to be crimson or strong red, and πορφύρεος purple, the ordinary colour of the Mediterranean waters. This same he varies by calling it οἶνοψ, winecoloured. But the question remains, What did he call, or what might he have called, the blue of the sky? With diffidence we reply,—χαροπὸς is the word. Aristotle, in discussing the colours of the human eye,* says that it is of four different colours; black, grey (γλαυκὸς), hazel (αἰγωπὸς) and χαροπὸς. That γλαυκὸς means *silvergrey* or *silvergreen*, may be inferred, inasmuch as it is the colour of the olive leaf, which is singularly like that of the willow. This is the colour of Minerva's eyes, and seems to be related to γλαῦξ (the owl) her bird. One can scarcely doubt that αἰγωπὸς (goateyed) means *hazel*: what else then can χαροπὸς mean but *blue?* To omit blue in recounting the colours of the human eye, seems impossible. That blue and grey are apt to shade into one another, may account for the strange line of Theocritus (a Sicilian) who speaks of eyes far more χαροπὰ than those of γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,—*far bluer* than those of *grey*eyed † Minerva. We admit that the dictionaries hesitate on the meaning of χαροπὸς, a striking proof of its rarity. But here again we meet in Latin similar phenomena.‡ Cæruleus and Venetus are each blue, yet Cæruleus is apt to be rendered green; and that it was *liable* to be applied to a colour even more green than blue, appears by Propertius making it an epithet of a cucumber. Yet Cæruleus is certainly sky-blue. So again Veneta which expresses the faction of the Blues as opposed to the Greens, is actually rendered Green in Facciolati's celebrated dictionary. Such phenomena are curious; but they ought rather to lead us to greater care in studying the rightful meaning of the words, than to the inference that *no* colour was intended, but only certain effects of changing light. Mr. Gladstone increases confusion, by choosing to identify ἰόεις (violet) with ἰοδνεφὴς (violet black), φοίνιξ (crimson) with ξανθὸς (auburn), and μίλτος (vermilion) with κυάνεος

* On the Generation of Animals, Book 5, chap. 1, § 17.

† Possibly Theocritus understood the epithet of the goddess to mean *owl-eyed*, as some still interpret it. This would have some analogy to βοῶπις Ἥρη, ox-eyed Juno, and αἰγωπὸς, goat-eyed for hazel-eyed. Those who suppose *glaring* to be the radical idea in γλαῦξ (an owl), and γλαυκῶπις primitively to have meant *owl-eyed*, are driven to hold γλαυκὸς a derivative from γλαυκῶπις, by a retrograde process.

‡ As another illustration how unstable are the convictions of scholars concerning the meaning of colours, we observe that in Riddle's Latin Dictionary (5th edition, 1845), *Luridus* is translated 'yellow or yellowish.'

(indigo);

(indigo); also with φοίνιξ. Because certain ships are called vermilion-prowed, therefore those called indigo-prowed and crimson-prowed must be all of the same colour! This is indeed Mr. Gladstone's argument, vol. iii. pp. 465 and 466. The word *purpureus* in Latin is notoriously applicable to every tint of the Tyrian dye, and it is probable that the Greek πορφύρεος had the same vagueness. Its relation to πορφύρα, the oyster which supplied the dye, almost necessitated this, and makes it equivalent to the Latin *ostrum*. Its higher derivation seems to be from the verb πορφύρω, which (strikingly as it looks like a *Phœnician* reduplicate) is probably a pure Greek development from φύρω, I mix; whence πορφύρω (euphonic for φυρφύρω), 'I stir up to mix,' or rather in a neuter sense, 'commisceor, confundor.' This is clearly the sense in many passages; and thus, apparently, ought Iliad 14, 16 to be interpreted.

In applying colours to horses, most languages seem to take liberties with words, unless they invent new names. A bay horse is called by the Greeks sometimes *red* (πυῤῥὸς), sometimes φοίνιξ (crimson?). Our colour *crimson* is so sharply defined, that this sounds to us absurd. By the *auburn* horse (ξανθὸς) we understand a chestnut colour. Mr. Gladstone interprets βάλιος spotted or dappled in Euripides, but arbitrarily refuses this meaning to Homer.

No one can reasonably imagine any defect in the eyes of Greeks or Italians, that should have made them confuse different colours. Mr. Gladstone observes that in their works of art the pure colours appear in great sharpness and perfection; and as the Homeric phenomena are fully shared by the after-poets, we cannot think him in the right course in theorising about 'Homer's' perceptions. We have no proper *theory* ourselves, yet we will make a *conjecture*. Everybody must have observed with how much greater precision our women and girls name colours than boys. What a boy calls *blue*, his sister calls *purple* or *violet* or *puce*-colour or *lilac* or *ultramarine:* what he calls *red*, she names *scarlet*, *crimson*, *vermilion*, &c. Some of these exact, specific, milliners' terms are wholly inadmissible in poetry; as *puce* and *ultramarine*. Now it appears to us probable, that some of the words by which Greek artizans denoted the exact colours were essentially unpoetical, and inadmissible even with Homer. The genuine prose word for *green* was πρασινὸς, from which (as Mr. Gladstone observes) *all* the classical poets seem to have abstained; not Homer only. It properly means *leeky* or made of leeks: and what more probable, than that the associations of the word demanded its exclusion? When a boy calls a pattern blue, which his sister names lilac or purple, he does not confound the colour in his mind with sky-blue: his vocabulary is defective, not his

his perceptions. Similarly, we conceive that Homer's ξανθὸς covered everything from light chestnut, to auburn, flaxen or even yellow (hair); his φοίνιξ ranged from crimson to red mahogany and reddish bay, his κυάνεος* from any dark blue or indigo to a purple black, his μίλτος from red-ochre to vermilion and scarlet. But the enigma remains why he never calls the sky blue; for he had certainly no objection to the word χαροπός. Here again, *all* the Greek poets are in like case; nor is it at all common in *Latin* poetry to refer to the colour of the sky. It is found in the old style, in Ennius and in Lucretius: Ovid follows Ennius: but we believe it is found neither in Virgil nor in Horace. May it not be, that to say *blue sky* was to them as otiose as *white milk*? Even so, it is exactly the Homeric style to use such epithets,—white milk, wet waves, &c.; nor would metrical considerations be hostile to αἰθὴρ χαροπὸς in the nominative, if he had wished to say it.

This whole question of colours is to us very critical. A translator who allows himself to wander widely from the specific words seems to us to damage Homer. Let us illustrate this point first, by examples. Achilles, in the first book of the Iliad, after Briseis has been torn away from him, sits moodily on the seashore. Different translators shall tell his posture.

'But sad, retiring to the sounding shore,
O'er the wild margin of the deep he hung:'—*Pope.*

'Alone, from all apart,
On the drear margin of the sea-beat shore
Achilles sat, and gaz'd the ocean o'er.'—*Sotheby.*

'To the shore of the old sea he betook
Himself alone, and casting forth upon the *purple* sea
His wet eyes, and his hands to heaven, &c.'—*Chapman.*

Here we have at last got some *purple:* but next listen to Cowper:

'Then wept Achilles, and apart from all,
With eyes directed to the *gloomy* deep—'

Gloomy! not purple: this seems to follow Mr. Gladstone's doctrine.—The latest translator is Mr. Newman, who gives:

'But Achilles
Afar from his companions sat, in loneliness and weeping,
On shingles of the *hoary* brine, at depths of *purple* gazing.'

If *hoary* and *purple* are (as we have been accustomed to believe) rightful English representatives of the Greek, the last is as literal as a prose version needs to be. But what we wish now to enforce, is, that the question is no light one. A painter would

* There is no difficulty in κυανοχαίτης (indigo-haired) as an epithet of Neptune. The marine deities were painted with hair of the colour of seaweed, sometimes dark blue, sometimes yellowish frog-green. Hence Horace's phrase, 'virides Nereidum comas.'—As applied by Homer to a horse, the same epithet denotes a *mane* of *purple black.*

be

be ill-pleased to have the hoary foam of his waves obliterated, and their purple tint turned into dusky brown; and we suspect that Homer would not thank any one for putting his poetry under the same process.

Again, when Ulysses returns by ship from Chryses, and Apollo sends a fair wind:

'The parted ocean foams and roars below:'—*Pope.*

'Around the cleaving keel the billow rung.'—*Sotheby.*

'The mizens strooted with the gale, the ship her course did cut
So swiftly, that the parted waves against her ribs did roar:'—*Chapman.*

In these, we have as yet no colour in the waves. Cowper makes them black!

'Roar'd the *sable* flood
Around the bark, that ever as she went, &c.'

Newman takes πορφύρεον for purple;

'Right square upon the sail the wind blar'd, and the *purple* billow
Shriek'd mightily around the bows, as rushed the galley onward.'

The sea is not always purple even in the Mediterranean. Homer calls it ἰοειδής in book xi. Chapman has:

'He brake into the heat of fight, as when a tempest raves,
Stoops from the clouds, and all on heaps doth cuff the *purple* waves.'

Cowper a third time conforms to Mr. Gladstone:

'With success elate
He strode, and flung himself into the fight
Black as a storm, which, sudden from on high
Descending, furrows deep the gloomy flood.'

Newman, as before, adheres to the popular sense of words:

'Himself, with thoughts of arrogance, stept on among the foremost,
And into thickest struggle dash'd, like to a high tornado,
Which on a sea of *violet* with stormy scuffle plungeth.'

Both in description and in simile Homer is unrivalled. That is, his similes (whether or not strikingly to the point) are themselves descriptions of nature, and as a true Greek, he is peculiarly fond of drawing them from the sea. We shall give examples from more than one translator, observing, once for all, that as none of them has laid down for himself so severe a law of conformity with the original as Mr. Newman, his version best suits our purpose of illustration.

Iliad 2, 144.

'All the crowd was shov'd about the shore;
In sway like rude and raging waves rous'd with the fervent blore
Of the East and South winds, when they break from Jove's clouds and are borne
On rough backs of the Icarian seas; or like a field of corn
High grown, that Zephyr's vehement gusts bring easily underneath,
And make the stiff upbristled ears do homage to his breath.'—*Chapman.*

'Commotion shook
The whole assembly, such as heaves the flood
Of the Icarian deep, when South and East
Burst forth together from the clouds of Jove.

And

> And as, when vehement the West wind falls
> On standing corn mature, the loaded ears
> Innumerable bow before the gale,
> So was the Council shaken.'—*Cowper.*

He should not have called it the Council; a word which properly denotes the secret meeting of the chiefs, as Cowper has already applied it. The Assembly is the public meeting of the whole army. Newman renders it:

> 'Thus speaking agitated he the soul within their bosom
> To all among the multitude, who had not heard the Council.
> Upon the assembly movements vast fell, as on long sea-billows
> Amid the depths of Icarus; which East and South together
> Tumultuate, from out the clouds of Jove the Father darting.
> And as, when on a corn-field deep the West wind rushing sudden
> Bestirreth it with squally plunge, and every ear depresseth,
> So agitated was the mote entire;—'

Now for the Grecian army moving to war, like successive rows of waves: Iliad 4, 422.

> 'And as when with the west wind flaws the sea thrusts up her waves,
> One after other, thick and high, upon the groaning shores;
> First in herself loud, but oppos'd with banks and rocks, she roars,
> And, all her back in bristles set, spits every way her foam;
> So after Diomed instantly the field was overcome
> With thick impressions of the Greeks; . . . . .'—*Chapman.*

> 'As when the surges of the sea, beneath a west wind's pressure,
> Upon the muchresounding beach, line after line, come rolling;
> First in the deep it heaveth high; then, by the strand retarded,
> With screech and roar it steepeneth, till, hollow at the summit,
> Sputtering the briny spray abroad, the huge crest tumbles over:
> So then the bands of Danaï, closewedg'd, to war were moving,
> Line after line, incessantly;— . . .'—*Newman.*

The two hosts meet;

> 'As when two winter torrents, rolling down
> The mountains, shoot their floods thro' gulleys huge
> Into one gulf below; station'd remote
> The shepherd in the uplands hears the roar:
> Such was the thunder of the mingling hosts.'—*Cowper.*

> 'As when the stormbegotten brooks, down from the mountains streaming,
> Mix in the bottom of a dell the riot of their water,
> Spouted from mighty fountainheads, deep in a dingle's hollow,
> And far along the cliffs their brawl unto the goatherd soundeth:
> So, when in conflict these were mix'd, did scream arise and turmoil.'—*Newman.*

When the embassy to Achilles failed, Agamemnon's distress and anxiety are thus described:

> 'The other princes, at their ships, softfinger'd Sleep did bind,
> But not the general: Somnus' silks bound not his labouring mind,
> That turn'd and return'd many thoughts. And as quick lightnings fly
> From welldeck'd Juno's sovereign, out of the thicken'd sky,
> Preparing some exceeding rain, or hail, the fruit of cold,
> Or downlike snow, that suddenly makes all the fields look old,
> Or opes the gulfy mouth of war with his ensulphur'd hand,
> In dazzling flashes pour'd from clouds on any punish'd land;
> So from Atrides' troubled heart, through his dark sorrows, flew
> Redoubled sighs: his entrails shook, as often as his view
> Admir'd the multitude of fires, that gilt the *Phrygian* shade,

And

And heard the sounds of fifes and shawms, and tumults soldiers made.
But when he saw his fleet and host kneel to his care and love,
He rent his hair up by the roots, as sacrifice to Jove,
Burnt in his fiery sighs, still breath'd out of his royal heart.'—*Chapman.*

This translation obtrudes on Homer several improprieties, among which the word *Phrygian* will meet with Mr. Gladstone's just and indignant reproof. The passage stands thus in Mr. Newman:

'Now all the rest by galley-side, chieftains of Panachaia,
Kept thro' the livelong night repose, by gentle sleep o'ermaster'd.
But not Atrídes Agamemnon, shepherd of the people,
Might be in slumber sweet detain'd; but tides of thought did toss him.
And as, when brighthair'd Juno's lord thro' heaven lightning sendeth,
Devising hail or piercing sleet, (when snow the clouds hath powder'd,)
Or rainy flood ineffable, or bitter-yawning battle:
So thickly from his bosom sobb'd the royal Agamemnon,
Deep drawing from his heart the moan; and all his vitals trembled.
When o'er the Troian plain he gaz'd, the many flames admir'd he,
Which burnt in front of Ilium,—the sound of flutes and whistles,
And hum of men; but when he saw the Achaian folk and galleys,
Then many a hair with lowest roots from out his head uptare he
To Jupiter aloft: and deep his noble heart was shaken.'

The reader from these extracts may form some idea of the comparative merits of the translators, but to give specimens of Homer is like showing bricks as an illustration of a house. His versatility and his inexhaustible variety in treating subjects that differ slightly, can only be appreciated by a close study of the whole,—in the original, if possible; but if not, in a *faithful* translation, which does not intrude upon him the fancies of some conceited modern, nor omit anything characteristic. The oratorical powers of Homer, so proclaimed by Quinctilian and highly panegyrized by Mr. Gladstone, cannot be exhibited even in specimen: a whole book at least must be read. His vividness of conception and infinite pictorial power might perhaps be further exhibited by a few examples, if our space permitted. His moral and religious tone is a study in itself, as well as his extraordinary simplicity of mythical conception, in which tradition, philosophy, poetry and morals are strangely fused into a sort of arbitrary homogeneity. As a striking specimen of his moral tone, we select from the address of Phœnix to Achilles, Il. 9, 496.

'Oh Achileus! thy mighty soul subdue! nor is it rightful
For *thee* a ruthless heart to hold: the very gods are yielding,
The gods, who are pre-eminent in virtue, force and honour.
E'en they by penitence of men are from their purpose turnèd
With sacrifice and pleasing vow and incense and libation,
When mortal man hath trespassèd, and made himself a sinner.
For, Penitences damsels are, by mighty Jove begotten,
Knee-stumbling, haggard in the cheek, with eyes askance and downcast,
Who in the track of Frenesy with sad remorse do follow.
But Frenesy is vigorous and sound of limb; for alway
She plungeth far ahead of them, and earlier for mischief
Man's heart doth occupy; and they but heal the wounds behind her.

Now

> Now whoso kindly pitieth Jove's daughters near approaching,
> Him greatly do they benefit, and to his prayèr hearken:
> But whoso to their word is deaf, and e'en refuseth harshly,
> They unto Jove Saturnius go and implore in guerdon,
> That Frenesy on *him* may come and craze him for disaster.
> But Achileus! do also thou unto the heavenly damsels
> Pay deference, and bend thy soul . . . . . &c. . . . . .'—*Newman.*

The word here translated Penitence, ordinarily means Supplication; but one of the old scholiasts discerned the true spirit of the passage, which speaks only of a *penitent offender's* supplication. Frenzy goes first, and sins; Penitence follows suppliant. The penitent offender ought to be forgiven. If any one refuses forgiveness to the penitent, the unforgiving man is liable to judicial infatuation,—becomes frenzied himself, and falls into disaster.

Many have expressed surprise and pleasure at Dr. Livingstone's testimony concerning the moral knowledge of the pagans of Africa; but the phenomena are on the surface of Greek and Roman literature. It would be no honour to Christianity to have invented a system of morals to which the human conscience bears no testimony. But the novelty which has seemed to belong to Dr. Livingstone's statement strikingly proves how ignorant of antiquity is the English public. A proper reading of Homer even in a translation (if a faithful one) would furnish matter for reflection such as twenty intelligent travellers among pagan tribes will scarcely give.

When we pass from morals into religion, the mixture of sound feeling with puerility and monstrous error in Homer is often highly interesting, as displaying the tracks of human thought and feeling. His religion is a fruit partly of conscience, but far more largely of fantastic and superficial observation; and many of the mythical tales are evidently little else than a development out of metaphor. When the eminently handsome heroes Achilles and Æneas are called *sons of goddesses*, nothing is more obvious than that this was in its origin a mere phrase of compliment to their beauty. Mr. Gladstone treats it too seriously. Equally gratuitous is his grave statement (as if of historical fact), that 'Polydore, sister of Achilles, had a spurious son.' This rests on nothing but a poetical compliment* to Menesthius, Achilles's nephew and the first of his five captains. 'Borus,' (says Homer,) 'who led his mother into bridal, was esteemed his father; but his real origin was from the never-resting river Spercheius, who streams down from Jupiter.' To mistake such a statement for a dishonour, is like accounting Alexander the Great a bastard,

* The case of Eudorus (next mentioned), Iliad 16, 179, is different. He is plainly said to be maidenborn (*i. e.* born *before* his mother's marriage), and not reared by the husband to whom his mother was afterwards married, but by his mother's father. In this case, the putative father, the god Hermeias (Mercury), is only a decorous cover to his mother's shame.

because

because his flatterers said he was the son of Jupiter, not of Philip. These are small matters; but they make us keenly feel, that Mr. Gladstone, with all his vast erudition, is led astray from the true and obvious meaning, where inferior men would probably go right.

The severity of his moral judgment against Venus, Paris, Agamemnon, is as earnest as if he were dealing with living characters; and in fact, his treatment of the great king Agamemnon is (if we may be allowed the phrase) quite edifying. Heartily do we wish that Christian rulers had the humility which he claims of Agamemnon; and glad shall we be to know, that whenever Mr. Gladstone is in the queen's councils, he urges his colleagues to humble themselves in the public eye (when they happen to have misconducted themselves,) as he insists Agamemnon should have done. This great king, after suffering vexatious defeat, in consequence of the absence of Achilles and the Myrmidons, sends a humble supplication to Achilles, proposing to restore Briseis, with seven ingenuous and accomplished damsels of picked beauty, and numerous other presents of great value, and offers in marriage either of his three daughters with seven valuable fortress-towns as dowry. We had always supposed Achilles to be clearly and vehemently wrong in harshly refusing to accept the offered reconciliation; nor do we read in his sarcastic and proud speech that specific ground of refusal by which Mr. Gladstone now justifies him; viz. that Agamemnon did not plainly and publicly confess that he had done wrong, but *only* proposed to send the woman back with splendid presents and with an oath that she had remained pure from his approaches. This is as much humiliation as we are accustomed to expect from monarchs, and is certainly far more than we ever get from ministers of state, when they have authorized iniquities and violences on a scale ten thousand times as great as Agamemnon's offence.

We have not touched in the above on the great controversy concerning the unity of Homer. Considering the vast length at which Mr. Grote and Colonel Mure have discussed the unity of *the Iliad*, no one could have wished much about this from Mr. Gladstone. But admitting the substantial unity of the Iliad equally as of the Odyssey, the assumption that the same poet wrote *both* seems to be far too easily made. The fact is, that we have *absolutely no historical testimony whatsoever* concerning the authorship, any more than if all the 'Homeric' poems were now for the first time disinterred in Pompeii. The ancients say 'Homer,' indifferently for the author of any one of these very numerous poems. Herodotus refers to the Cyprian Epic as Homer's, Thucydides to the Delian Hymn, Aristotle to the Margites; while it is universally agreed among the moderns that these

these are not and cannot have been composed by the author of the Iliad. When we thus unceremoniously discard the authority of the ancient writers in regard to all the poems *except* the Odyssey, it is absurd to pretend their opinion concerning the authorship of the Odyssey has any other weight than their recorded arguments may give it. The difference of the Iliad and Odyssey is not merely in definite representations, but in their entire genius. We do not undertake to prove that one man *cannot* have produced both. To prove such negatives is impossible. If Southey's Kehama and Shelley's Prometheus were both anonymous, we could not venture to say: 'It is *impossible* for one man at different times of his life to have written both.' But, as there is a decided difference of genius in the two works, we take for granted that they come from different authors, *until* external testimony shall establish that they are from one. Exactly the same is the case with the two great epics of the Greeks: and since no external testimony exists, or will exist, on which any one can reasonably rest, we think they should be always treated as of separate authorship.

We have not been able to touch on Mr. Gladstone's copious and curious analysis of the Homeric deities, nor on his learned and careful attempts to fix to the imagination Homer's notions of the Earth. He here blends the Odyssey with the Iliad. His belief that by the *Hellespont* Homer meant the open sea of Troas is, we believe, new, and deserves careful consideration. But we have, we fear, already overrun our limits.

Art. V.—1. *The Modern Pulpit viewed in its relation to the State of Society.* By Robert Vaughan, D.D. London: Jackson and Walford. 1842.

2. *An Earnest Ministry the Want of the Times.* By John Angell James. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1847.

3. *The Preaching for the Age.* Reprinted from the *New Englander* in British and Foreign Evangelical Review. 1854.

4. *Preachers and Preaching.* By the Rev. H. Christmas, M.A., F.R.S., &c. London: Lay. 1858.

MANKIND have hitherto been more dependent for their instruction upon the living teacher than upon written or printed books. Until a very recent period in the history of Europe, and even to the present day in other continents, the few only can be reached by the art of printing; the many receive all their knowledge from the oral instructor. Pagan religions courted mystery rather than disclosure, and kept the veil of Isis before the eyes of the commonalty. Their exoteric

doctrines were few compared with their esoteric; and ceremony rather than knowledge was the spiritual pabulum they offered to the people. Hence mythology took the place of truth, and superstition that of faith. The Hebrews had less of this than any other nation. Their sacred books contained no secrets to be concealed from the vulgar. The teacher was commanded to instruct the people, and the father his child in all the words of the law, and to explain the meaning of their most mysterious rites. There was only one place covered from public gaze, and where the services were confined to a consecrated priesthood. Christianity rent this veil asunder, and opened the holiest of all to the view of the world. It consummated Jewish types, and made the gospel catholic. It courted circulation for its sacred documents, and sent its missionaries everywhere to diffuse the truth. Preaching may be said to have been begun with Christianity. The herald of the Saviour was a preacher. The great Teacher wrote no books, but preached to the common people. Apart from holy places, He taught in fields, on the mountain-side, by the sea-shore, and in the private dwelling. And thus acted His apostles. Their literary works were few; but these remarkable men, who have left their impression on all succeeding time, exercised their mightiest influence by the preaching of the word. Christianity owes its greatest social power to the pulpit.

It was a new thing in the world for the chief officers of a religion to instruct the common people, but this was the glory of the early evangelists. It was also a means of their wondrous success. Notwithstanding their exclusive claim for one God and one Mediator between God and men, and the strict morality they enjoined, multitudes were induced to cast off paganism and join the church. The hoar antiquity and traditional awe of their ancestral worship lost their effect before the life and immortality brought to light by the gospel of the preacher. The pure Theism and moral rectitude of the True supplanted the gross polytheism and shameless immorality of the False. Christianity overthrew the religions of the empire, and in less than three hundred years from its promulgation in Judea became the faith of the Roman world. The preacher was henceforth the teacher of the people, and the pulpit the lever of social amelioration. By means of the righteousness and truth, the mercy and love which characterised the instruction imparted from the pulpit to the people, great changes were wrought on the morals of men, and on the aspect of society. Slavery, that had prevailed to such extent as to embrace the largest proportion of the population of Greece and Rome, fell before the truth that made the spirit free, and all disciples brethren. Polygamy, that enervated the race and destroyed the purity of home,—once so high an honour and so beneficent a safeguard to Roman virtue,

virtue, was abolished by the genial influence of a faith that made the family relation the preservative of religion and morals. Woman, so long degraded from her position of equality, regained her place. Common life in all its interwoven relationships received an elevation and a purification that the high culture of humanity, for which Greece was so renowned, could never bestow. Duties were then taught, for the first time in the Gentile world, that the poor, the aged, the widow, and the orphan should be supported by the charity of the professing church. Intelligence, which had been confined to the noble and the learned, became the inheritance of the many. The same instruction was the privilege of all. The schools might be for the select, and the manuscript rolls of wisdom for the wealthy or the leisurely, but the pulpit was the birthright of the people. The highest knowledge was made accessible to the most illiterate, whom the aristocratic Platonist had deemed incapable of the higher life. The pulpit then became one of the greatest social powers in the state. If not so commanding and so materially effective, it reached deeper than the throne and the army. It governed the conscience, and influenced the mind and heart and life. The golden-mouthed Chrysostom was more influential at Constantinople than the Empress Eudoxia, and the voice of Ambrose was more potent at Milan than the sword of Theodosius. The preacher became the object of courtly favour or of dread. To support or silence the pulpit was often a surer way to win a cause than to appeal to arms.

During the mediæval period, religious ceremonies increased, and the pulpit was denuded of its glory. During Lent—the only season when the people were addressed—religious plays were substituted for sermons. Preachers ceased to instruct. But when men were to be again aroused, and called forth to action; when society was about to undergo a change, the pulpit regained its seat, and contributed chiefly to the progress of civilisation. The first crusade was preached by Peter the Hermit. The Monk broke the silence of centuries, and made the pulpit popular. He kindled the zeal of pope, emperors, and kings, bishops and priests, knights and people; so that when Urban II., at the Council at Clermont, addressed the immense crowd assembled there, they arose in one mass, and answered his appeals by saying, 'It is the will of God! it is the will of God!'*

The second crusade was preached by the celebrated St. Bernard, the last of the fathers. His discourses are characterised by Sixtus of Sienna as 'at once so sweet and so ardent, that it is as though his mouth were a fountain of honey, and his heart a whole furnace of love.' His manner had a fiery energy, and his voice a melting

* *Michaud's* 'History of the Crusades.'

pathos,

pathos, so that when he preached to the Germans, who understood not his language, they were moved to tears.*

The sixteenth century witnessed the true revival of preaching, and the pulpit became again the educator of the people. Legendary tales, dramatic representations, superstitious customs ceased to be used in public oral instruction. Luther and Zuingle, Farel and Calvin, Latimer and Knox among the Reformers, and the new orders of Barnabites and Jesuits in the Church of Rome, applied the pulpit to its legitimate purposes, and made its influence tell upon the masses of the people, who crowded to hear their eloquent and practical discourses. Luther had amazing power as a preacher. One of his opponents has thus characterised him :—

'Endowed with a keen and acute intellect, and a retentive memory, and having an admirable facility in the use of his mother tongue, Luther, in point of eloquence, yielded to none of his age. Discoursing from the pulpit as if he had been agitated by some strong passion, and suiting his action to his words, he produced a wonderful impression on the minds of his hearers, and like a tornado carried them along whithersoever he wished. So much force, gracefulness, and eloquence are seldom seen among the people of the north.'†

By means of the genius and eloquence, the good address and manly sympathy of Zuingle's preaching at Zurich, the Swiss were awakened to light and liberty. The pulpit became the greatest social power in the confederation, and more than all other influences contributed to reform. In England, Latimer was the preacher of his age. 'No man,' says Dr. Vaughan, 'ever applied himself to the office of preaching with a more simple or considerate aim to communicate instruction and to make the right impressions than did honest Hugh Latimer.' He had been brought up in the school of dramatic preaching, which prevailed in England as much as on the continent at that period; and when he addressed the people, his discourses had all the force and vivid representation which the actor throws into his speech. To kings, courtiers, and people, Latimer addressed his blunt home-thrusts with such energy and pathos as to become 'the father of pulpit eloquence in England.'

While thus noticing the social power of the pulpit in that memorable period, we may not omit the preaching of Loyola and others in the Church of Rome, and which gave new life and energy to many in that communion. Though trained in a military school, and devoted to chivalry, Loyola, when he became religious, was inflamed with an ardent and unconquerable enthusiasm, and, leaving his former pursuits, devoted himself to preaching, in which art he became most effective. All classes flocked to listen to him. Sobs and groans succeeded the breathless silence which marked the commencement of his discourse, and numbers everywhere became the conquests of his earnest oratory. Fra Girolamo Narni, who first suggested that great institution, the Propaganda—known

* *Neander's* 'Life of St. Bernard.' † Florimond Raymond.

all

all over the world—was a Capuchin friar, and obtained the reputation of a saint by the devotedness of his life. His preaching had a fulness of thought, a majesty of eloquence, a beauty of language, and a burning earnestness which made a deep impression on his auditors. After listening to one of his sermons, the celebrated Cardinal Bellarmine remarked, that he thought one of the three wishes of St. Augustine had been vouchsafed to himself, that was—to hear the preaching of St. Paul.* 'When Narni taught the populace, in Lent, from the pulpits of Rome, half the city went from his sermon, crying along the streets, "*Lord have mercy on us! Christ have mercy on us!*" so that in only one passion week, two thousand crowns' worth of ropes were sold to make scourges with; and when he preached before the Pope, to cardinals and bishops, and painted the crime of non-residence in its own colours, he frightened thirty or forty bishops who heard him instantly to their own dioceses. In the pulpit, at Salamanca, he induced eight hundred students to quit all worldly prospects of honour, riches, and pleasure, and to become penitents in divers monasteries.'

The influence of the pulpit in the sixteenth century was great and extensive. It awakened, instructed, and developed thought. It subdued and purified the people. It awed the might of the despot and promoted the liberty of the subject. It extended religion and improved morals, and took a permanent place among the beneficent institutions of Christendom.

How much England owes to the power of the pulpit may be learned from the fact, that all the monarchs, from Henry VIII. to Charles II., were exceedingly jealous of the influence of popular preachers, and did much to restrain their public instruction and to deprive them of their livings. The Puritan divines of the seventeenth century were masters in theology, then being fully systematised; and though their tendency to doctrinal disquisitions and controversial discussions led them away from the ethical preaching of divine truth, yet they never lost sight of the great mission with which they were charged, and exercised a most healthy influence on social enlightenment and morality, and on the contest between absolute power and constitutional liberty which then prevailed. To the frequent, lengthened, and earnest preaching of such men as Baxter and Owen, Howe and Bunyan, in connection with the truths which they taught, we may trace the sobriety, order, and piety which characterised that ever memorable era of English history—the Commonwealth.

The eighteenth century commenced in England with a frigid theology and a powerless pulpit—the bequest of the Restoration. It was winter in the Church when all signs of life seemed to

* *Ranke's* 'Lives of the Popes,' B. vii. c. 2, § 2.

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have died away. Faith had become a form, and secularity had displaced religion. Preachers gloried in addressing their discourses to the educated, and the pulpit consequently lost its hold upon the masses of the people whom it was instituted to instruct. But when Wesley and Whitfield arose, and, as men in earnest, addressed their fellow-men, the pulpit reached the people and regained its healthful influence. The greatest social fact in the eighteenth century was Methodism, and that was a result of popular preaching. It revived religion, purified morals, diffused intelligence among the common people, suggested philanthropy, and aided to call forth those noble characters who have been identified with the great schemes of benevolence at home and abroad, which have engaged the practical energy of British Christians for the last hundred years. It provided pulpits with better, if not with more learned preachers, extended the influence of the Christian ministry, and advanced the welfare of the people.

The pulpit in our time is in different circumstances from those it has ever before experienced. The printing press has taken up much of its ground, and made society less dependent upon its teaching. Popular literature is attractive, and in many respects elevating, and aids self-education to a considerable extent. 'We are not now in danger of being *priest-ridden*, but of being *press-ridden*,' says an American writer,* and, though in so far as the newspaper is concerned, the remark applies even more to our transatlantic cousins than to ourselves, yet it has its application even here. The press has been gaining while the pulpit has been losing in popular power. This is not because the press has usurped the place of the pulpit, but because it has sustained its work with more ability, and is suited more to the worldly pursuits and desires of men than the pulpit. Accustomed to read well-written, intellectual, and instructive periodicals and books, whose style captivates, whose themes interest, and whose thought elevates, people cease to admire and to listen to preachers of feeble mind and listless manner. Those, again, who peruse the trash of Holywell Street—and they are legion—have no relish for the unexciting discourses of the pulpit. It is also not to be denied that much of preaching is too academic and dry, or too weak in intellect and coarse. Clerical education has lacked an element which brings the religious teacher into sympathy with the common people, and it has ignored the *art* of speaking, which is ever an effective aid of popular instruction. The want of education has also injured many who occupy pulpits in this land, and has made the intelligent desert them. People complain that most of the preachers whom they hear are simply *good* men, who do not com-

* Longfellow, in 'Kavanagh.'

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mand the attention of the thoughtful, and do not excite thoughtfulness. From these and other causes, our churches and chapels in large towns have been deserted by the half of the people.

The pulpit needs higher intellect. The theme with which it is occupied is worthy of the noblest thought—has the loftiest elevation and the most extensive range, and grasps the two eternities of the past and the future. It has the most varied topics of creation, providence, and redemption in all their relations to the welfare and conduct of man, and to man as related to God and his brother. It has a text-book made to hand within whose ample revelation there is a store for suggesting, illustrating, and applying instructive thought. It has abundant scope for argument, invention, persuasion, and appeal in discoursing upon the doctrines and duties revealed in the Scripture. It has the purest motives and the most sacred interests to urge to the faithful discharge of its office. It has radiant promises to encourage the greatest success. But it must possess a stronger intelligence and a warmer sympathy to make it effective. This is an age of active thought. Its intelligence sees clearly and is capable of apprehending close and pointed argument; but it cannot wait for prolixity and circumlocution. It has cultivation to appreciate the beauties of style and the graces of eloquence; but its every-day experience is against the affected, the histrionic—'the start and stare theatric.' Its earnestness in 'worldliness' can understand the burning zeal of the preacher on 'other-worldliness;' but a boisterous oratory, or even a graceful utterance will not atone for a want of intellect. Light and love—those attributes so eminently characteristic of the scriptural delineation of God—must together adorn, in a higher degree than is commonly found, those who, in the name of the Highest, address their fellow-men. Greater light must come from the study of the oracles of God in their relation to the present condition of society, and greater love from the baptism of fire—ever capable of meeting the earnestness of any age.

It is folly to suppose that by the exclusive study of the theology of other days—either of the Ante-Nicene or the Puritan age—preachers can with the greatest advantages expound and apply the Scriptures to the people of the present time. The lights of other days are not to be despised. 'He that will be so original as to scorn to borrow from others, may, indeed, acquire the wisdom of age, but he throws away the wisdom of ages.' Respectable acquaintance with the theological literature of the past is of the greatest value in forming a correct judgment and in furnishing the mind, and all preachers ought to possess it. But every age has its peculiar necessities, and the Bible is a book for all time and all people. Great subjects have occupied the pulpit during the last eighteen and a-half centuries. Among the subtle and dreamy Orientals

Orientals the speculative points of theology were earnestly discussed, and preaching was greatly concerned with exposition of the Nature of God, the Unity and the Trinity, the Person of Christ, and the Personality of the Holy Spirit. But though at times these controversies have arisen, and will again arise, yet the creed of Christendom fixed the *Theology*, the *Christology*, and the *Pneumatology* in the early ages. In the more practical West, those points of faith that concerned the nature, character, and spiritual ability of man were eagerly and exhaustively discussed; but the *Anthropology* was settled in the days of Pelagius and Augustine. Passing over the *Hagiology* of the Middle Ages—which, by the admission both of Protestant and Romanist, was perverted to much superstition and was apart from the necessities of a creed—we come to the Reformation, when the way of salvation became the great controverted theme, and then the *Soteriology* was added to the faith. During the seventeenth century, the Puritans endeavoured to systematise theology, and assign the place of the 'five points' and their correlative truths, and *Methodology* was then completed. Creeds and catechisms got their permanent form. Since that period, neither Romanist nor Protestant has added any new articles of faith, with the exception of the dogma—then a sentiment—of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, and the doctrine of toleration, then very imperfectly understood. An age of speculation and remorseless criticism succeeded, from whose blight, with but few lessons, we are not wholly recovered. Its influence for good extends more to the study than to the pulpit, and qualifies the teacher rather than instructs the people.

Since the missionary era dawned upon the modern church, new topics have occupied the pulpit. The practical doctrines of Holy Scripture have been more fully taught, and the necessity of employing Christian graces in useful action has been more insisted upon. *Christian ethics form the doctrine for this age.** Of course our readers will not suppose that we imply the omission of the great central truth of the gospel. That was not held in abeyance when the articles of faith above referred to were the subjects of polemical discourse. The Cross must still be the sun of the pulpit, which thence derives all its light, and love, and practical power. Preaching loses its essential feature if that is obscured.

* The *Eschatology*, or doctrine of the last things, though often debated, without attracting general attention, yet remains for future theologians to add to the teaching of the pulpit. Other divisions, more exhaustive of the subjects discussed during the Christian era, have been proposed. *Hagenbach*, in his 'History of Doctrines,' has five periods, embracing *Apologetics* (from 80—254); *Polemics* (240—730); *Systems* (730—1517); *Symbolism* (1517—1720); and *Criticism*, (1720 to the present day). That proposed above agrees substantially with one suggested by Kliefoth. See *Hare's* 'Mission of the Comforter,' Note G., for some valuable remarks on the progressive development of doctrine.

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Christian ethics are not meant to supplant the Cross, when we point to them as the great themes on which the pulpit must now issue its clear and certain sound. The great topic must ever be foremost, and may be illustrated from art, science, fancy, and fact, argued with a resistless logic, and applied by an earnest and pathetic eloquence. The other points must still be taught, and in their relation to faith and practice. Little, however, can be added to these, either in original treatment or fuller discussion. The massive folios of preceding centuries have exhausted their argument. But Christian *Sociology* is only now being discussed, and made an important part of pulpit instruction. It has been only of late years that the humanity of the Saviour has received that attention which its importance demands. Edward Irving, ere yet he diverged from his ancestral faith, did much to bring forward the personal Christ in all the sympathies of his human brotherhood and as the pattern Man. Archdeacon Hare and others have followed, and now many pulpits present the Man Christ Jesus before the people. This was needed; for the discussions about atonement, and the exact terms in which the creed respecting it was to be expressed, though of essential importance, had diverted Christian thought from the great personal Head of humanity—the fountain and the model of all spiritual life. No truth can be of greater service to popular theology than this which reveals the Saviour in human form, enduring a life of toil and conflict, and a death and burial akin to our own, along with that devotion to God and rare benevolence towards men, which made up the experience of Him who was ever doing the will of his Father, and going about continually doing good.

Consequent upon this great truth come the ethics of Christianity, and the application of its holy doctrines to common life. The pulpit was in danger of being separated from the daily experience of men, and religion of being considered only as belonging to consecrated places and to holy days. But this must not be. There is no divorce, but a close relation between heavenly doctrines and earthly business. They must be brought together, and it is the mission of the modern pulpit to exhibit this union and apply its lessons to the lives of men. The late Dr. Chalmers—a man in advance of his age—perceived the importance of this very soon after his removal from a rural parish to the commercial capital of his country, and he addressed to the multitudes that crowded to his ministry his noble and eloquent discourses 'On the Application of Christianity to the Commercial and Ordinary Affairs of Life.' The morals of money, of trade, and of labour must have a place in the pulpit as they have in the Bible. Society sadly needs instruction on these points of every-day life, and preachers must not shrink from the onerous task. It

It is gratifying to observe that there are divines arising who are fully awake to their responsibility in this matter, and who are earnestly endeavouring to discharge it, as is evident from the volumes that are occasionally appearing from the press. The interest taken in Mr. Caird's plain, practical, and earnest sermon on 'Religion in Common Life,' by the queen and the people, indicates a consciousness of the need of such pulpit instruction.

In an age like the present, when business, politics, and refinement are so earnestly cultivated, and when there are so many temptations arising from these pursuits to disturb the equilibrium of a good conscience, it is of the greatest consequence that those who occupy the pulpit should endeavour with solid thought, fresh and striking illustration, gracefulness, and, above all, earnestness of address, to arrest and interest their congregations, to give a right direction to their pursuits and tastes, and to exhort them 'to adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour in all things.' We believe religion to be the wholesome leaven of life, liberty, and business, and the want of it to be the worst preparation for the excitements of politics and of trade, and for all social duties. The influence of the pulpit cannot fail to be great when the doctrines of the gospel are practically and earnestly enforced; but in order that the present age may be rightly and profitably taught, there must be in the preacher thought as solid and suggestive, eloquence as burning and attractive, as are found among politicians; point as precise, sagacity as keen, labour as untiring, as are evinced by men in business; along with a solemnity and an earnestness which will awaken to thoughtfulness and bring under the power of religious decision the busy men who throng our exchanges and our shops, our factories and our fields.

The great social evils that abound among us are fitting themes for occasional disquisitions from the pulpit. The preacher can influence public sentiment on these subjects. He has peculiar vantage ground for doing this with effect. He is not the paid agent of any particular benevolent society, nor under any special obligation (beyond the motive which his philanthropy may give him) to consider and discourse upon its aims. He can choose his own texts, and has a great license of all topics that may be directly or inferentially deduced from the sacred writings. And when, from strong personal conviction and ardent zeal for the public welfare, he uses his high prerogative to refer to prevailing sins, his words and efforts are justly entitled to great weight and attention. Thus, sermons on the war, on the peace, and on India have been recently delivered. Thus, at the request of the Bishop of London, discourses were preached simultaneously throughout the metropolis on Sunday trading. It is good that occasionally one subject of social interest should be thus pressed upon

upon Christian congregations throughout the land; but we attach a greater value to the spontaneous discussion of public evils by the occupants of the pulpit. Apart from pressure from without, they can thus give their calm thought to the subject, and their auditors can more calmly consider what they ought to do to ameliorate existing evils. Thus, when that most eloquent and effective of modern preachers, Dr. Guthrie of Edinburgh, makes his sermon the vehicle for his ardent philanthropy, and preaches on 'The City: its Sins and Sorrows,'—depicting the ignorance, impurity, intemperance, and ungodliness that prevail in our large cities, his auditors are likely to give serious and dispassionate consideration to the important themes to which they have listened. The fame of the preacher has secured for these valuable and thrilling specimens of pulpit eloquence an extensive circulation, and the press has been made the handmaid of the pulpit in social amelioration. The public has had thus brought under its calm and serious thought some of the most momentous difficulties of the present day, along with intelligible and practical suggestions for their solution. The pulpit has much in its power, and it must not shrink from the use of its opportunity to address the people on the most flagrant vices that sap the morals of society and neutralise so much of all zealous efforts for good. The pulpit has the strongest lever for benevolent action. When the heart has been warmed by the earnest application of truth, it is prepared to listen to the practical duties—social as well as personal—which the Christian faith imposes on its disciples. The 'great social evil,' as it is called, is too seldom referred to in the pulpit. Drunkenness, and the temptations to it, authorised by the State, and embraced by the people, are not denounced as they ought to be. The immoralities of trade, and the dangers of over-speculation, though they deserve the earnest attention of the pulpit, are not often described. The relations of employer and employed—of the deepest interest to a very large portion of the community—are not viewed in the light of Scripture with sufficient care, nor made so frequent a subject of public instruction as the necessities of the case demands. These questions must be considered and reasoned out in the pulpit before the people. There is an improvement in these particulars, and social ethics are being more frequently taught by the lips of the preacher. The pulpit is claiming the right 'to apply the standard of the gospel to the habits, the duties, the mercies, and the charities of daily life.' This must be done seriously. The pulpit is not to be prostrated to unworthy objects, nor to good objects in an unbecoming levity. A German writer mentions some sermons in his country that were occupied with the discussion of 'rural economy,' and 'the duties of Christians on the approach of a contagious disease among cattle;'

cattle;' and he adds, 'Did not Luther announce that it would not be long before they preached upon blue ducks?'* If he had lived to the present day, he would have heard of pious discourses on 'red, white, and blue,' preached in Christian England.

Perhaps we ought to take notice of those lectures which have been lately delivered in public halls by popular divines to large audiences, composed chiefly of the working-classes, on Christian ethics more or less practically applied to every-day life. That such efforts have been productive of good it would be ungenerous to deny; but we confess to a feeling that serious subjects should not be treated in the humorous style unhappily too characteristic of most of such efforts, and that ministers of religion had better leave the serio-comic to other actors on other days. What we desiderate is not a condescension to the vulgar language of the shop and the tavern, nor a divorce of devotional exercises from professed religious discourse, but the clear exposition of divine truth in untechnical, manly, and correct English, and the earnest application of it to daily life by means of the ordinary services of the pulpit; a closer sympathy between preacher and people by pastoral visitation; an adaptation to the present necessities of society; and a burning earnestness that seeks to make every hearer a consistent Christian and an useful citizen.

The special religious services for the working-classes recently instituted in many of our large towns have been a step in the right direction. They have brought preachers and people together in places where they had been alienated from each other. Mr. Spurgeon certainly deserves the credit of having inaugurated this scheme of our day. He made preaching to the million popular, and drew forth by his example many eloquent ministers, who have everywhere been welcomed by eager audiences. If this effort be faithfully carried out, and followed up by pastoral visitation to the homes of working men, we do not despair of seeing the churches and chapels of all earnest ministers crowded by interested congregations, and the pulpit made anew an educator of the people.

Wherever there is an intelligent, earnest preacher, society cannot fail to reap advantage. He may be the country parson or the metropolitan divine, the ill-paid curate or the wealthy dignitary; but when to a clear and fervent instruction on the Sunday he adds 'the rhetoric of his life' in philanthropic works and consistent conduct during the week, he becomes a father to his people and a benefactor to his country. The presence of such a man is a reproof to sin; his counsels settle difficulties; his labours elevate and reform the neighbourhood. He is always the preacher

* *Ammond's* 'Anleitung zur Kanzelberedsamkeit,' p. 70.

—an

—an illuminated gospel—and his flock are his living epistle known and read of all men. He secures the respect of good men during his life; amidst their tears he is borne at death to an honourable burial; he leaves a memory fragrant with the good works and almsdeeds which he did; and takes his place in the immortal sphere where they who turn many to righteousness shine as the stars for ever and ever.

Art. VI.—1. *The Political Economy of Art, being the substance (with additions) of Two Lectures delivered at the Manchester Athenæum, July* 10 and 13, 1857. By John Ruskin, M.A. Smith, Elder, and Co. 1857.

2. *The Functions of Science and Art Department. A Lecture delivered at the South Kensington Museum.* By Henry Cole, C.B., Secretary and General Superintendent. Chapman and Hall. 1857.

3. *The Gift of the Sheepshanks Collection with a view to the formation of a National Gallery of British Art. A Lecture delivered at the South Kensington Museum.* By Richard Redgrave, R.A., Inspector-General for Art. Chapman and Hall. 1857.

THERE are few things in this work-day world of ours more pleasant to the earnest lover of art than the change which has gradually taken place during the last twenty years in the popular sentiment in relation to the graphic arts in their intellectual, industrial, and national aspects. During that period this sentiment has advanced from the *vis inertiæ* of profound apathy and debasing ignorance towards a degree of interest and intelligence at least most hopeful for the future. Those only who have watched the progress, noted the changes, and been in a position to record from time to time the nature of the advance, can, however, truly appreciate how much has been achieved, or calculate as to the results in the future.

The literature of Fine Art alone is sufficient to show how great a change has come over us; since in this we have progressed from the dull namby-pambyism of lectures by Royal Academicians—whose efforts to explain the inexplicable ended in rendering the authors ridiculous—to essays by such writers as Pugin and Ruskin, in which the vital force and innate truth of art are held up with a scholar-like power and earnest enthusiasm equal to the theme. When, however, we turn to ornamental art in its application to industry, we find even a still more decided change, since, in the place of the blatant platitudes of poor Haydon, urging the public to the establishment of schools for the education of ornamentists

mentists through a course of study pre-eminently calculated to prevent the really able student ever becoming what he aimed at, we have the well-defined and thoroughly practical works of Owen Jones, Digby Wyatt, and others.

In the action of the new Government Department of Science and Art there is still further evidence of progress, as the manifestation of the growth of popular feeling for art in its various forms; since, by the aid of schools, museums, libraries, and picture-galleries, the facts necessary to true art-knowledge are laid open, and made available to all. The year 1836 witnessed the first great and permanently effective movement in the direction of popular art-education, and the last seven years have bloomed so unmistakably that an abundant fruitage cannot fail to result, if, with the advantages gained, we take '*Meliora*' for our motto, steadily and hopefully availing ourselves of the position to which past progress has brought us.

The Great Exhibition of 1851, the establishment of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, the British contributions, especially in painting and sculpture, to the Universal Exposition at Paris 1855, the Art-Treasures Exhibition at Manchester, and more recently the opening of the South Kensington Museum, with the Sheepshanks collection in its centre, are all so many steps forward in popular appreciation of art, and, as such, are to be regarded as evidence of a growing and intelligent interest in those arts which no nation can neglect with impunity, and which all nations aiming at an enduring historical position must regard as necessary alike to the present as to the future: to the present as a refining influence on the people at large, to the future as a record of national aims and achievements.

The Great Exhibition of 1851 showed us at once our strength and our weakness in relation to industrial art. With technical and mechanical skill, certainly equal, in many respects superior, to most of our rivals, the British productions displayed such a lack of true æsthetic design, such profound ignorance of most of the very commonest principles of ornamental art, and such an utter neglect of everything like fitness either to use, material, or mode of manufacture, that, in the presence of works exhibited by peoples whom we chose to consider semi-barbarous, our art-manufacture appeared to consist of mere conceits on the one hand, or senseless abominations alike in form and colour on the other. The honourable exceptions to this rule served, as usual, rather to prove it, than to afford any palliation.

The Sydenham Crystal Palace has afforded an example of how much may be achieved in the way of actual illustration of the past art in a pleasing and consecutive form. The hand-books alone might mark an era in the art-literature of a country like England, in

in which the 'why and wherefore' of architecture and its decorative adjuncts were either forgotten or carelessly neglected. It is to be regretted, however, that an undertaking fraught with so much promise to the future of true art should have been so thoroughly 'jobbed,' and eventually embarrassed in action. The 1851 prototype of this work had rendered popular art-education fashionable for the nonce; and had, *mirabile dictu!* proved, that, under certain conditions, it would pay. Thereupon, people innocent of all knowledge and love of art, except that of stock-jobbing, rushed into the market frantic with the newly-discovered importance of a progressive development of the taste of the people. Shares bought at par were sold in a 'rigged' market at a premium; three times the original capital was sunk in an undertaking which required as many years as its projectors took months to grow it: consequently that growth was fungoidal rather than tree-like—a costly and marvellous mushroom rather than a beautiful and enduring oak.

The *Salon des Beaux Arts*, at the Paris Universal Exposition of 1855, did that for British Fine Art which it might have taken years to have induced any one to have attempted in England; and our living painters and sculptors were not only brought side by side with, and face to face to each other, but with all continental Europe, and that, too, in such a form as to astonish the critics, who, as usual, had settled our position in art without seeing what we could do, upon the assumption that England could not grow artists, because Englishmen generally had no knowledge of art. This *sequitur*, so satisfactory to the *amour propre* of Frenchmen at least, was made the most of even with the works before their eyes; and it is doubtful if, even to this day, many of those critics who favoured British art with a passing notice in some third-rate Parisian newspaper, really believe that the works were executed by Englishmen in England. The responsibility, however, of showing who did execute them was coolly shirked, and the popular intelligence on both sides of the channel left in utter darkness as to whether British art is really British or a concoction by unfortunate continental artists whose notions of form, colour, and expression had become 'obfusticated' in the fogs and under the melancholy skies of '*perfide Albion.*'

The Manchester Art-Treasures Exhibition—an offshoot and intended amendment upon the Dublin failure of 1853—was a decided mistake both in time and place. In *time*, because it came so quickly upon the heels of an analogous exhibition; in *place*, because the popular taste of the *people* of the locality was of too low a standard to enable the masses to understand what the object of the Exhibition really was: and it certainly took nearly the whole period of the exhibition to inform even a fair percentage of the

the people, who ought to have been the first to take advantage of its teachings, as to its true purpose.

That the Manchester Art-Treasures movement had its uses, and will ultimately prove of value, especially as showing what a noble school of water-colour art has arisen in this benighted island, is quite certain; and for this alone honour is due to its promoters, although its projectors are not entitled to the credit of having foreseen such a result.

There is, however, another point which it is no reflection upon their judgment to say that they did not foresee, and that is, the fact that the accomplished author of 'Modern Painters'—*the* 'Oxford Graduate,' *par excellence*—would go down in the midst of the gathering, and quietly administer a rebuke, in two discourses on the Political Economy of Art. Taking up the whole question of a love of art as the prime mover to a study of, and an indulgence, when it can be afforded, in its beauties, Mr. Ruskin broadly hints a fear that an ostentatious love of display has had largely to do with the Art-Treasures gathering rather than that abiding love of the beautiful. Without believing all that the author tells us, and being very far from sympathising in his far-fetched notion that it is the business of the people of an English city to become the conservators of the architecture of an Italian city, even though the one be a Manchester and the other a Verona—the one a living, breathing, fighting, fuming, utilitarian aggregation of humanity and ugly architecture, and the other a dead city of the past, appealing to us, like a beautiful corpse, for protection from that further decay which is as inevitable in cities as in human bodies—we feel that his protest against incessant changes was something worth going to Manchester to say, and certainly worth going to Manchester to listen to, and as being said in the face of people who tell you—though if put in that form they won't own it—that all the art they care about is based on incessant change, on fashions, on whims, and caprices.

In building up the art of a nation, Mr. Ruskin well says:—

'We, as we live and work, are to be always thinking of those who come after us; that what we do may be serviceable, as far as we can make it so, to them as well as to us. Then when we die, it is the duty of those who come after us to accept this work of ours with thanks and remembrance, not thrusting it aside, or tearing it down the moment they think they have no use for it.'

Again, he says:—

'Its own work will never be rightly done, even for itself—more good, or noble, or pleasurable to its own eyes—if it does not prepare it also for the eyes of generations yet to come. And its own possessions will never be enough for it, and its own wisdom never enough for it—(only think of that at Manchester!)—unless it avails itself gratefully and tenderly of the treasures of wisdom bequeathed by its ancestors.'

In this consideration of the past in the present, as well as of the future in the present, lies the true germ of all solid art-progress.

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So much is not said precisely in these lectures, but all experience shows that this is the lesson we, as a nation, have to learn. First, we have to accumulate our art-facts, and every species of knowledge bearing upon them; to carefully preserve them, and so dispose them that they may be used to the best advantage. The 'fragments' are to be 'gathered up,' in a genuine spirit of pupilage, and we are to take care, as far as in us lies, that 'nothing be lost.' Having done this, and provided, too, for the continuation of such doing, the facts, the knowledge, the deductions therefrom, and the practical application thereof, are to be made not merely in a spirit of exclusiveness or commercial huckstering, but in a large and sympathetic desire for the promotion of a still greater development of art-life in the future, as arising out of the genuine vital force engendered in that of our own time.

If the trite old Latin expression 'Ars longa, vita brevis' was oftener thought of, and better understood, when money, and time, and painstaking effort, and thought, and sleepless anxiety, were all being bestowed upon some building, or picture-collection, or museum, the results, even to popular art, would be more satisfactory, because it would lead to popular art becoming more solid and enduring. As it is, the love of mere novelty, of change, of display without meaning, of mere expenditure of time and money without any true fixity of purpose, over-rides the more serious part of the question—the record by our own art, in our own time, of the position in which we stand. Happily, in some respects the so-called art of the day is not intended to endure; so that at least we may hope that, when the time comes for us to see, understand, and appreciate that which truly belongs to us as a people—that is, such art manifestations as really belong to the idiosyncracy of the age in which we live—the so-called architecture of this day, at least, will have fallen low in its native dust, no longer encumbering earth with its presence; a warning to 'gods and men' that to do a thing ill is to have to do it twice.

Thus much for our Art as displayed in our architecture. As regards Sculpture and Painting, there are other aspects in which to view the question.

Of Sculpture, little need be said. Divorced from Architecture, it scarcely exists, except on mere sufferance. Here a statue, there a statue—usually stuck exactly where they should not be. Dripping with rain-streaks and soot, melancholy proofs of how little we really know of the true purposes of the sculptor's art, these effigies of the great stand before us only as monuments of our own littleness;—self-evident proofs of how a true and good thing can be made to look false, aye! and be false too, by being separated from its primary use.

Of Painting a great deal may be said. Standing, at present,

on the debateable ground which lies between a conventional adoration of the old masters, or of works profanely so called, and the opening patronage of the modern school which has of late years developed itself—still amenable to the cant of the connoisseur by prescriptive right and the trickery of the vested interests of the dealer, professional and non-professional—the position of painting as an art is not satisfactory. It is too much of the shop, shoppy. The market makes the picture, not the picture the market. The cry is, as in calicoes, silk fabrics, ornamental brass-work, and the merest knick-knackeries, 'Will it sell?'—not, 'Is it true? Is it good for teaching? Will it make us better or wiser? Can we see nature all the more clearly for having looked at it? Does it lead us from town to country? Will it lift us, even for a moment only, from earth to heaven?'

This mere high-pricedness in modern pictures is no proof of a true love of them, and may be regarded rather as an unhealthy than a healthy symptom. Mr. Ruskin takes up this question in his 'Political Economy of Art,' and what he says about it must commend itself to every person interested in this question: but he does not say all that can be said, and ought to be said, upon the subject; since, apart from the evil influence which the question of price has upon the mind of the artist while at work, and the fact that, whilst some few are overpaid, many, as worthy perhaps, are underpaid, this tendency to high prices encourages a species of gambling in pictures, perpetuates the existence of a class of persons who grew up amidst the old-master mania, and who, standing between the deceased artist and the art-patron, presume still to thrust themselves between the living artist and his patron, and usurp the position of the true purchaser as the encourager of talent. Now, so long as picture collectors allow agents to stand between them and the artist, so long will they be subject to trickery, absurd prices, and all the uncertainties of mere trade in works of art. The temptation to duplication—even multiplication—is increased. The dealer is tempted by the price, and seeks to keep the artist and the patron as separate as possible, since he can the easier take advantage of the liberality of the one and the necessities of the other. Of course there are many honourable exceptions to the rule that the picture-dealer is simply an interloper—an useless and costly agent between the artist and his patron; since it often happens that both artist and patron are alike benefited by the introduction of a third person whose knowledge and experience are valuable to both: but this is only when the agent dares to think for himself, has knowledge enough to appreciate, and candour enough to acknowledge, unknown ability, with liberality and spirit enough to bring it forward, even though the artist's views of what a picture ought to be are not quite orthodox,

orthodox, and he may obstinately maintain his right to see with his own eyes instead of through the conventional spectacles of the so-called connoisseurship of the day.

Compare the usual mode of forming a collection of pictures with that pursued by the two greatest benefactors of British art, Mr. Vernon and Mr. Sheepshanks. About the object in view when collecting nothing need be said. It is granted that each person has a right to invest his money for his own ulterior views, which may be either money profit to himself or his representatives, or the more noble one of being useful to his less wealthy fellow-men, and the perpetuation of his memory among them as one who loved art so well that he wished all men to love it as much as himself and enjoy it. The Vernon and Sheepshanks Collections were both got together through years of patient and earnest attention to the arts, and of pleasant and profitable intercourse with artists. The fruit of this intercourse was an enlightened appreciation of the beautiful and true in nature and in those arts which aspired to perpetuate its ever-changing aspects. Any one who ever had the privilege of a visit to Mr. Vernon's mansion in Pall-Mall, or to Mr. Sheepshanks' quiet house at Kensington, must have been impressed with the earnestness of the spirit which brought together so much that was admirable into such a space. Located as they now are, these collections appear to lose by the want of personal association. This, however, was inevitable, and to the mass is no loss at all. Warned by the fate which had overtaken the Vernon collection, Mr. Sheepshanks wisely determined that he would himself see his pictures safely and separately housed. Not that he stipulates for any continuation of this separation; on the contrary, he wishes his pictures to be considered simply as the beginning of a national gallery of British art, sinking his own name and personality in the general title. Thus the intelligence and liberality which disposed and enabled him to collect, has equally served him in settling the final destination of his pictures. Contrast the galleries in which the Sheepshanks collection is arranged at the South Kensington Museum with the dungeon-like rooms in which the Vernon pictures first saw the light, such as it was, so far as the public were concerned. In the latter case, a noble gift was scurvily treated, and is still so, because its donor innocently believed that the executive of the people would care for such a donation to the people. Mr. Sheepshanks was thus well warned, took the warning, and acted upon it. He said, 'There are my *jewels.* You acknowledge that they are of inestimable value—some of them, the Mulreadys and the Leslies, almost beyond price. They are yours freely, provided you undertake to *set* them properly. If that is not done, you shall not have them to thrust where your penuriousness or lack of

appreciation may think good enough for them.' And Mr. Sheepshanks had his own way, in spite of sundry grumblings and growlings, more loud, however, from certain partisan lovers of art than from the consistent opponents of all expenditure of public money upon national elegancies.

In Mr. Redgrave's admirable lecture on the gift of Mr. Sheepshanks nearly all is said that well can be said of the use of this choice and varied collection of works of the painters of our own time and country. The explanations given of the construction of the galleries are of great interest and value to all who desire to see our future galleries of art properly constructed, and, above all, properly lighted; and it is not too much to say that the Sheepshanks pictures are better housed and better seen than any other public collection in Europe.

There is one provision, however, in the terms of this gift to the nation which may ultimately prove of great value to the future of the arts in this country, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Redgrave did not even touch upon it in his lecture. In the sixth clause of the deed of gift, Mr. Sheepshanks provides for 'the temporary loan of any of the pictures, upon terms sanctioned by the ex-officio trustee, to any place in the United Kingdom where any school of art exists in connection with the Department of Science and Art, or generally where there is any safe and proper place for their reception and public exhibition.' This liberal provision for giving to such of our large provincial towns as may have provided suitable accommodation for works of art, the opportunity, even temporarily, of sharing in the art-privileges of the metropolis, is worthy of the donor of such a collection of pictures; and it is to be hoped the day is not far distant when the Science and Art Department will promote a loan of some portion of the works to such places as Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield. Mr. Cole alludes, in his lecture delivered prior to Mr. Redgrave's, to the fact of a provision being made for loans of the pictures to local schools of art; but it is strange that neither of these gentlemen should have endeavoured to render the fact useful by dwelling at some length upon it, and suggesting how so useful a rule might be carried out. No one can suppose that this arises from any disregard of Mr. Sheepshanks' views, nor from any absurd exclusiveness in possession; on the contrary, Mr. Redgrave says, that while—

'There is every reason why there should be one centre of action—one great store, as it were, of the nation's wealth—this must be in London, and may well be at Kensington, where ample space, the one thing needful, is at the command of Government; but there is no reason why we should have only one gallery of art in London, any more than that we should have one gallery of art for London.'

He then suggests that a number of local galleries of art might be founded within a circle around St. Paul's, taking the distance from St. Paul's

St. Paul's to Kensington as a radius, and shows in what localities they would fall. Now this admirable idea—the only fault of which is that it is solely metropolitan—should be extended to the provinces, and the provision of Mr. Sheepshanks acted upon, by sending, from time to time, a reasonable proportion of his collection on its travels to the local sub-centres, whether metropolitan or provincial.

The great fault of all our government art-movements has been that they have been too exclusively confined, in their direct action, to London. The action of the Science and Art Department has certainly been less so than any other. In fact, provision is made for beating down this extreme centralisation by circulating a collection of examples, selected from the Ornamental Museum, but very much more has to be done in this direction. Mr. Cole's lecture on 'The Functions of the Science and Art Department' is usefully suggestive on this point, bringing out, as it does very clearly, its present action in relation to the important question of secondary education as applied to art as well as science. About the latter nothing need be said here, except to allude to one important fact, that science-schools appear to be of very slow growth, quite *as slow* and far from being *as sure* as the earlier schools of design, as they were called. This, however, in passing. The schools of art are no doubt laying the foundation for a future wide-spread usefulness. Nobody believes fully in the present system, either educational or administrative; and certainly no one could go over the works rewarded by medals during the last year's examinations, exhibited at South Kensington, without pitying the poor students who have received such blighting lessons in vanity at the hands of their teachers, aided by the department inspectors. The comparison between the character of their works and those executed under the former system, except in the cases of the older schools, such as Sheffield, Stoke-upon-Trent, Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow, and one or two others, is painful to reflect upon. Not that much positive improvement each year is at all practicable in the greater number of the stages, since the students of fifteen or sixteen in one year and in one stage will be succeeded, in the following year, by those of fourteen or fifteen, coming up from a lower stage; and therefore greater excellence in another individual is not probable, except in a few cases. The excellence may be progressive as regards the individual, but not as regards the school. When, however, the standard of executive skill is lowered in the aggregate, it shows either that the standard of judgment is lowered altogether to meet the necessities of less successful teaching, or that the standard by which the works of a youth of sixteen is judged at Sheffield or Birmingham is much higher than that by which the drawing of a youth of the same age and

and standing at Coventry or Bath is tested and rewarded. The *broad-cast* system of prize-giving is of very doubtful utility, except so far as it goes towards levelling all distinction, or as an excuse for the employment of those who award the prizes, since present inspection simply means examination and adjudication. The result, however, of so much prize-distribution is already seen in the large crop of personal vanity grown in the recipients; for it has been remarked by persons employing these prize-students that the conceit which some of them manifest, after a course of prizes has been taken and had time to operate, is something laughable, if it were not likely to become of serious importance to the future relation of employer and employed. It is, therefore, to be feared that persons employing youths in ornamental manufactures will rather seek to prevent than promote their attendance in schools of art, if the working of the system of instruction tends to engender personal vanity in the students. Honours are sore temptations to grown men, and frequently lead to forgetfulness of duties and responsibilities; no one can wonder that youths forget themselves and mistake the beginning for the end.

Now this is not a national good, does not point to any really serviceable result, is not calculated to benefit popular education in the arts; but, on the other hand, is rather calculated to retard true progress. Nor is it likely that the temptation to so many young men, who might become good decorators or designers, wood-carvers and marble-cutters, to attempt to qualify themselves for teachers of art, will ultimately lead to satisfactory results. The true qualification of a good teacher is never obtained by going into training for it. The student carries it with him. If he loves to impart his knowledge to others, has aptitude of illustration, and zeal in his work, he will make himself a better teacher than any mere grinding through courses can possibly do. Without these, he will lack that force of character which enables a man to conduct a system of class instruction with success; and while no one can undervalue a proper course of systematic training for the work of education, and a fair test of the powers of the student after he has passed through such training, few will believe that either the training or the examination, makes or qualifies the man, without there is also within him that which no system can give, and no mere routine of training develop. The practical result will be, as it is pretty well known it has been, that men incapable of leading public opinion in relation to matters of art will undertake the work for a stipend so beggarly that, had they persevered in some mechanical employment, to which their genius really fitted them, they would have done better for themselves, and certainly been more useful to society; whilst men capable of doing the work of arousing and directing an apathetic and—it is not too much to say

say, since it is not intended offensively—an ignorant public, retire from a work in which they have to descend to the level and compete with the merest country drawing-master, submit to tests of an inspection so elastic as to bring prizes within the reach of the 'meanest capacity,' and a position so indefinite that they are only recognised in a public capacity when something is wanted from them. In short, our art-teachers are now, so far as official position goes, neither 'flesh, fish, nor fowl;' and with every disposition to think highly of and appreciate the action of the Science and Art Department of Education, it is clear that, so far as regards the elevation of popular feeling in regard to art-instruction, its operations have not only been a failure, but have positively undone very much of what was already done for lifting up art and artists in public estimation. In saying this, however, it is only right to give its leading officers full credit for earnestness, zeal, and sincerity of purpose. Mr. Cole's lecture, followed as it was by that of Mr. Redgrave and others, proves this. The real cause of non-success, where success was desirable and might have been easily achieved, was the attempt to cover too much ground at once; an impatience of results without providing adequate means; a choice of cheap, rather than effective instruments; and a forgetfulness of the fact that anything approaching to a true appreciation of the value of art in this country, either in its moral, social, industrial, or educational aspect, had to be cultivated. On the contrary, it was assumed that all that was necessary was to provide the school-rooms, the examples, and the teacher, and each class of society would rush to learn art upon terms adapted to their means. This happened in a few respectable cities—such as Cheltenham, Hereford, Bath, and Bristol—where, ten years ago, no one would have thought of interfering with the conventional drawing-master, and where the novelty of the thing 'took' with a certain class. It would now be curious to investigate the *practical* results of these schools. What have they taught? Whom have they taught? What has been the object of their teaching? These would be fair questions. Who will answer them? In the mean time the question of popular art-instruction has been embarrassed in our large manufacturing towns; drawing *a la mode* encouraged, because it *paid* best; and the Government—following the example of the manufacturer, whose wares it set out with a desire and an avowed intention to improve, and whose argument that if an article '*sells*' it is the best and only proof that it is the right thing is repudiated by the official art-mind—actually does the very same thing, and undertakes to provide that sort of instruction which the public will 'buy,' without caring if it is truly that kind of instruction which the Government alone ought to '*sell*,' or allow itself to be mixed up with.

It

It is with a feeling of more than ordinary regret that every one must see a great work, in which so much has been and is doing in the right direction by this very Department, so compromised in its first and most important element, that of *direct* instruction to the rising generation. In the matter of museums and libraries, and the modes of access thereto, the administration at South Kensington is to be highly commended; and no one can possibly calculate what will be the result of the facilities thus afforded to the public for examining and comparing so much that is good and useful. If the *direct* educational management had but a tythe of the power shown in the *indirect* instruction, a few years would place us at the head of every European nation in the matter of popular education in the arts of painting, sculpture, and decoration. As it is, we are doing and undoing; building up and pulling down; one day rushing along with a speed that takes away the breath, and the next dawdling in listless apathy, wondering what it will be desirable to do next.

ART. VII.—1. *Pictorial History of England. Part VI. Manners and Customs.* London: Charles Knight.
2. *Antiquarian Library.* H. G. Bohn. London.
3. *Essays Historical and Critical on the Temperance Question. No. I. Ancient Teetotalism.* By F. R. Lees, Ph.D. London. 1853.
4. *An Argument Legal and Historical for the Legislative Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic.* By F. R. Lees, Ph.D. Third Edition. (United Kingdom Alliance, Manchester.) London: W. Tweedie. 1857.
5. *Statutes at Large.* Ruffhead and others.
6. *Reports of Parliamentary Committees.*
7. *Suggestions for a Bill to Prevent the Traffic in Intoxicating Drinks.* United Kingdom Alliance, Manchester.

IF there be any virtue in antiquity it may certainly be claimed by the Temperance movement. The opponents of Total Abstinence Societies admit that they may 'boast as ancient and honourable an ancestry as any in the world,' that 'in some of their features they are as old as history, in others, as modern as yesterday, and in all, not inexpressive of certain of the wants and aspirations of society.'* 'Without contradiction, in every age of the world there has been a total abstinence movement.'† To assign, therefore, to temperance its place in general history would occupy more space than can be devoted to our present article. On every page of the great volume of the past the student may find

* 'Westminster Review.' † 'Medico-Chirurgical Review,' January, 1851.

traces

traces of its influence. He may decipher on the walls of the stupendous Egyptian temple the hieroglyphic history of twenty-five dynasties of kings, all of whom, from Menes to Psametichus, drank of the juice of the grape, pressed, as by Pharaoh's butler, into the cup before the king.* Or he may read in the legendary poetry of the old minstrel of Greece, the sentiment familiar to him as again uttered by the divinely accredited wisdom of Solomon.† Or, turning to the precepts of ancient theology, he may ponder the significance of that wondrous temperance revival among the nations, when, almost contemporaneously, Zoroaster was endeavouring to purify the religion of Persia; Heraclitus was weeping over the debauchery of his native Ephesus; Buddha was promulgating to the vast multitudes of Hindostan his special law, 'Obey the truth and walk steadily in the path of purity, and drink not liquors that disturb the reason;'‡ and Isaiah, the inspired prophet of the Hebrews, in tones, the thunder of which, reverberating through the ages of the past, still roll awfully upon the ear, was proclaiming, 'Woe to them that rise early in the morning to follow strong drink, who tarry all night, till wine inflame them! Woe to them that are valiant to drink wine, and men of might to mix strong drink, for they have cast away the law of Jehovah of hosts, and despised the word of the Holy One of Israel.'§ Or, throwing himself, in imagination, into the midst of Athenian society, with its love of pleasure and its high intellectual development, he may mingle with the throng which listens to Socrates teaching 'abstinence from such articles as stimulate to eat when not hungry and to drink when not thirsty.'‖ Or, without more violence to chronology than imagination often commits, he may pass on to hear Plato discourse approvingly of the Carthaginian law, 'that no sort of wine be drunk in the camp, nor anything but water; and that every judge and magistrate abstain during the year of his office.'¶ Or, he may linger before the door of Epicurus himself, and there read the inscription, 'Passenger! here thou wilt find good entertainment; it is here that pleasure is esteemed the sovereign good. The master will receive thee courteously, but take note! thou must expect only a piece of cake and thy fill of water. Here hunger is not provoked, but satisfied; thirst is not excited, but quenched.'**

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* *Plutarch*, 'De Iside et Oseride.'

† 'Far hence be Bacchus' gifts, the chief rejoined,
Inflaming wine, pernicious to mankind,
Unnerves the limbs and dulls the noble mind.
Let chiefs abstain.'—*Iliad*, Book 6, line 322.

It is not for kings, O Lemuel, it is not for kings to drink wine; nor for princes strong drink: lest they drink, and forget the law, and pervert the judgment of any of the afflicted.'—*Prov.* xxxi. 4, 5.

‡ 'Precepts of Buddha.' § *Isa.* v. 11, 24. ‖ '*Prof. Tyler*, 'Socrates.'

¶ *Plato*, 'De Legibus.' ** *Seneca*, 'Epistolæ ad Lucilium,' Ep. 31.

In

In the present article, our object is more practical, and, therefore, more limited. We propose briefly to sketch the history of our own social condition, and of our laws in relation to intemperance, with the view of ascertaining whether there may be discovered any sound principle, both of individual practice and national importance, by which we may be confirmed in our present course or learn to amend our future.

According to Macpherson, when the Romans invaded Britain intemperance was already ranked among the national vices. To whatever extent this may be true, the introduction of the luxury accompanying the Roman power certainly tended to increase the evil. When, however, the centre of the empire being threatened, the conquerors withdrew from the extremities to defend the seat of government, they left behind them comparatively few traces of an influence on the habits and manners of the people they had subdued. Their dominion having partaken more of the nature of military occupation than of colonisation, its magnitude rather asserted itself in vast military works, and in some important political institutions, than in domestic or social relations. The Saxon power, under which Britain then came, gradually strengthening itself, until its consolidation under Egbert, was of a widely-different character. To it we are rightly accustomed to look as to the fountain whence have flowed to us most of the refreshing streams of domestic and political freedom which have gladdened our country. Modern England does not belie its lineage; with all their free institutions, the Saxons were proverbially drunken. Their common drink was ale or mead. By 694, so important a luxury was this beverage considered, that Iné, king of the West Saxons, directed that every possessor of ten hides of land should pay him an annual tax of twelve ambers * of Welsh ale. Pledges, as indications of courtesy, or incitements to excess, though possibly due to the refinement of classic civilisation, were universally adopted, and the word, 'waes hail,' indicates the readiness with which the custom became incorporated not only into the habits, but even into the language of the people. 'It be an innate quality of this people,' says William of Malmesbury,† 'to be more inclined to revelling than to the accumulation of wealth. . . . Drinking in parties is an universal practice, in which occupation they pass entire nights as well as days.'

The vices attendant on drunkenness of course followed, and it was to their enervating and degrading effects upon the national mind and energies that the old chronicler attributed the result of the battle of Hastings. Nor were these habits confined to any class. The poem of 'Beowulph' introduces us to the banquets of

* An amber—seven gallons.

† 'Chronicle,' B. 3.

kings

kings and nobles, and we look on at scenes of dangerous debauchery. Strutt explains the custom of the pledge at table, as an engagement, on the part of the guest, to defend his neighbour against violence while in the act of drinking—the arm being raised, the face covered, and the body, therefore, unprotected. Our readers will remember the murder of the first Edmund, on the festival of St. Augustin (946), a catastrophe which might have been prevented had not the king and his entire court and guards been so drunk as to be helpless. Even the clergy were not exempt from the popular frailty. With pardonable care, they secured for themselves the best produce of the field and the vintage. The people soon came to call the choicest and strongest wine 'theologicum.' Of course the authority of the church sought to restrain such excesses, but without much result. Then, as now, it was felt to be difficult to define drunkenness. Where was the line to be drawn, which, in social enjoyment, should rigidly separate 'the talky, the argumentative, the disputatious, the altogethery, the unintelligible, and the drunk?' Let modern legislators read and learn—'This is drunkenness,' says a canon of the Saxon church, 'when the state of the mind is changed, the tongue stammers, the eyes are disturbed, the head is giddy, the belly is swelled, and pain follows.'

By the reign of Edgar (958), intemperance had become so terrible as to induce repeated efforts on the part of that king to check it. In Dorsetshire may yet be seen Saxon vessels divided or marked with pegs at regular intervals. Beyond the next peg no guest could be allowed to drink, under legal penalty, as the cup was circulated round the table. The legislation advised by Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, was more sensible. Acting on his suggestion, Edgar forcibly suppressed all ale-houses, excepting one in every village or small town; thus affording an early authority for legal interference with the trade in strong drink. It would be unjust, however, to our Saxon forefathers were we to omit the testimony of the chronicler we have already quoted to the fact, that in the midst of all this vicious and sensual indulgence 'many of the clergy, at that day, trod the path of sanctity, and that many of the laity, of all ranks and conditions in this nation, were well pleasing to God.'

With the Normans were introduced habits of greater refinement. The 'science of cookery,' which they brought with them, indicates a delicacy and luxury to which the rough Saxons were strangers. Their manners were proud and selfish, but they were not excessive in the indulgence of their appetites—

> 'To rise at five, to dine at nine,
> To sup at five, to bed at nine,
> Makes a man live to ninety-nine,'

is a translation of an old Norman proverb.

But

But by the time of Henry II., according to Peter of Blois, evil communications had corrupted good manners. The revival of laws against drinking beyond the pegs, especially directed against the rural clergy, again points to the prevailing vice of the people. It was so far a public danger as to attract the attention and excite the alarm of strangers. 'The two only inconveniences of London,' says Fitzstephen, 'are the excessive drinking of some foolish people, and the frequent fires.'

From the period of Magna Charta, we have no longer to pick our way by the dim light of obscure chronicles, but may walk freely along the broad path of the statute book. Whatever may be the objections entertained against legislative interference with the traffic in strong drink, no charge of innovation or of novelty can be brought against it. Intemperance, and the public-house, seem to have caused more trouble to parliament than any other question, domestic or foreign. Upwards of 470 statutes, which we have carefully perused, attest as well the difficulties of the case as the persevering industry of our legislators.

England, in the reigns of John and Edward I., was in a state of sad disorder. The popular legends of Robin Hood exhibit no exaggerated picture of the lawlessness which prevailed; to check which, vain attempts were made by 13 Ed. I., commonly called the Statute of Winchester. 'Robberies, murders, burnings, and thefts be more often used than heretofore,' says that statute; and it provides that a host shall be answerable for his lodger, and that open spaces shall be left on each side of roads to protect the traveller from concealed danger.

By 51 Hen. III. the price of ale was first fixed by Act of Parliament. It was to be regulated according to the price of corn. Arising out of the assize necessary to determine the operation of this Act, grew an excellent provision. 12 Ed. II. (1319), and 6 Ric. II. (1383), entirely disqualified any trader, wholesale or retail, in wine, ale, or victuals, from holding any judicial office in any corporation, and this continued in force until the reign of Henry VIII.

Sufficient traces may be discovered in early statutes to show that the trade in strong drink had, long prior to the date of legislative records, been under very stringent regulations. The king's licence is frequently mentioned, and a statute of Ed. III. provides 'that the mayor and aldermen may rule and redress the defaults of fleshers, fishers, and poulters, *as they do of those that sell bread, wine, and ale.*' But whatever may have been the nature of these restrictions, taverns early became troublesome, and publicans very soon learned the tricks of their trade. Statute 4 Ed. III., c. 12 (1331), assigns as a necessity for legislation, 'Because there be more taverners in the realm than there were wont to be, selling as well

well corrupt wines as wholesome,' and prescribes, as a penalty, not only the closing of the tavern door, but the destruction of the liquor and the vessels containing it. Our readers will not fail to remark the curious coincidence of these provisions with those found effective in the modern legislation of the United States.

The literature, also, of this period abounds with allusions to prevalent intemperance. The Miller's tale, as told to the Canterbury pilgrims, is expressly assigned to a drunken vagabond, and it would be difficult to find a better temperance lecture than Chaucer has put into the mouth of the Pardonere:—

> 'A lecherous thing is wine, and dronkennesse
> Is ful of striving and of wretchednesse.
> Oh dronken man, disfigured is thy face,
> Sour is thy breth, foul art thou to embrace.
> And through thy dronken nose semeth the soun,
> As though thou saidest ay Samsoun, Samsoun,
> And yet, God wot, Samsoun drank nay no wine.
> Thou fallest as it were a sticked swine.
> Thy tongue is lost, and all thy honest cure,
> For dronkennesse is veray sepulture
> Of manne's wit, and his discretion,
> In whom that drink hath domination;
> He can no counsel kepe, it is no drede,
> Now kepe you from the white and from the red.'

The continental wars of Henry V. and the contests between the White and Red Roses were events little favourable to domestic progress. The statute-book received but few additions during this period of foreign and domestic strife. The publicans, however, still plied their mischievous trade. They seem to have acquired a habit of forcibly possessing themselves of the horses and accoutrements of travellers, for a statute of Henry VI. is expressly directed against this offence. A curious enactment of 1455,* without assigning any reason, declares that 'no person brewing ale or beer in Kent to be sold, shall during 5 years make above 100 quarters of malt to his own use.'

In the habits and condition of the people there was an increase of luxury, though not of temperance. Fortescue, a legal writer of the period, says that 'the common people never vouchsafed to drink water, except for penance,' while even the sacred edifices of the church were defiled by drunken orgies known by the name of 'glutton masses.'

The revolution which terminated the rivalry of the houses of York and Lancaster, and placed Henry VII. on the throne, left the country even more disorganised than it had previously been. The power of the crown under the Tudors rendered the duties of parliament in the matter of social legislation very subordinate, and even such efforts as were made to enforce order—the stringent

* 33 Hen. VI. c. 4.

laws

laws against vagabonds, for example—were abortive, from the disturbing influence of the ale-houses and taverns.

In 11 Hen. VII. a provision is found giving justices power to put away ale-selling and take sureties for good behaviour, but the mischief so rapidly increased as to necessitate the enactment of 5 & 6 Ed. VI., c. 25 (1552), not as a fiscal measure, as is now often argued, but for the sake of social protection. The title of this statute is 'For Keepers of Ale-houses and Tippling-houses to be bound by Recognisances.' Its preamble runs: 'Forasmuch as intolerable hurts and troubles to the commonwealth of this realm doth daily grow and increase through such abuses and disorders as are had and caused in common ale-houses and other houses called tippling-houses;' and it enacts a licence system under the direct control of the justices. The mischief, however, was not confined to ale-houses, as was soon discovered. In the following session taverns were attacked. Stat. 7 Ed. VI., c. 5 (1554) was enacted for 'the avoiding of many inconveniences, much evil rule, and common resort of misruled persons, used and frequented in many taverns, newly set up in very great numbers, in back lanes, corners, and suspicious places within the city of London and in divers other towns and villages within this realm.' It provided that no wine should be sold without a licence, and further, that no licence should be granted, excepting in cities, boroughs, or market-towns. In these the number was strictly limited to two, with the exception of four considerable cities. To London was allowed 40, to York 8, to Bristol 6, and to Westminster 3. *In no case was any wine to be sold to be drunk on the premises.* What do our modern restrictionists say to this last provision? Surely if any regulation can be satisfactory, measures so stringent as these should have resulted in success. They lamentably failed. By the end of the reign of Elizabeth drunkenness and disorder had very greatly increased. The severity of the time of Henry VIII., during whose reign 72,000 executions are computed to have taken place, was almost rivalled by that of his daughter. Three or four hundred vagabonds were annually disposed of by the hangman during the latter years of Elizabeth.

The consumption of drink became enormous. Ales—double, single, and, named on account of strength, 'dagger'—were the constant beverage. But the favourite popular drink was 'huff-cap,' called also 'mad dog,' 'angels' food,' or 'dragons' blood.' 'Never,' says Harrison, 'did Romulus and Remus suck their she-wolf with such eager and sharp devotion as these men hale at huff-cap, till they be as red as cocks, and little wiser than their combs." Not less than fifty-six kinds of French wines, and thirty-six descriptions of other wines, were imported to the extent of 30,000

30,000 tuns annually. Gout, emphatically called the enemy, began to make its appearance. To intensify the mischief, the Irish established the distillation of whisky in Pembrokeshire, but were checked by an Act to restrain the excessive making of malt.* This wise measure, which worked satisfactorily, was repealed in 1698, as we shall presently mention, avowedly and entirely for the sake of revenue.

A knowledge of adulteration, too, was a recognised qualification for the business of a publican. Falstaff's keen palate easily detected the lime in the sack with which he sought to refresh his exhausted valour after the fight at Gad's Hill. And when, the lusty knight being compelled to discard one of his servants, Bardolph offered himself for the situation of tapster, the host's first and only reply was, 'Come, let me see thee froth and lime.'

Such a state of society could not exist without exciting the alarm of thoughtful men. The pamphleteer, the poet, and the politician sought in vain to stem the tide of debauchery. 'All drunkards are beasts,' was the proposition maintained by George Gascoigne in his 'Delicate Diet for Daintie Mouthed Drunkards;' the charming allegory of Spenser sought to invest purity and virtue with fresh charms; and the supposed happiness of Utopia or of Arcadia was increased and secured by the absence of the 'institution' which would foment disorder and inflame the passions of the people.

The state of public morals at the close of Elizabeth's reign is shown by the eager haste displayed by the first parliament of James I. to devise some remedy. Almost the first Act of this first parliament was 'An Act to restrain the inordinate Haunting and Tippling in Inns, Ale-houses, and other Victualling Houses,' 1 Jac. I., c. 9 (1603). The following is its preamble:—

'Whereas the ancient, true, and principal use of inns, ale-houses, and other victualling houses was for the receipt, relief, and lodging of wayfaring people travelling from place to place, and for such supply of the wants of such people as are not able by greater quantities to make their provisions of victuals, and not meant for entertainment and harbouring of lewd and idle people to spend and consume their money and their time in lewd and drunken manner,' &c.

The Act provides for the infliction of a penalty of ten shillings on any publican suffering 'an inhabitant' to stay and tipple in his house; and if negligent of their duty in enforcing this Act, the constables or churchwardens are made liable to a penalty of forty shillings, which it is decreed shall be paid to the use of the poor.

These stringent provisions were abundantly needful. The court of James I. was even more depraved and scandalous than that of his grandson the 'merry monarch.' He 'wallowed in beastly delights.' Ladies of title haunted the taverns, and were frequently seen intoxicated in the vilest company, while the great

* 39 Eliz. c. 16.

mass

mass of the people abandoned themselves to the temptations which surrounded them on every side.

The laws of Ed. VI. regulating the existence of public-houses were disregarded. With characteristic indifference to an Act of Parliament, James assumed the right of granting patents, by virtue of his prerogative, and, among the rest, the monopoly of licensing ale-houses and taverns. The result of such a grant may readily be imagined. The grievance soon became intolerable. Mr. Alford, a member of parliament, described its operation in Bath to be, 'that instead of restraining the number of inn-keepers—where there were wont to be but six, and the town desired Sir Giles Monpesson there might not be more—yet he increased them to twenty.'

At length the pressure brought to bear on the king induced him to give way, and he agreed to leave the management of ale-houses, &c., in the hands of the justices of the peace, 'as before.' Immediately parliament took further steps to repress the evil. It passed the statutes 4 Jac. I., c. 4 (1606), 'For the better repressing of ale-houses, whereof the multitude and abuses have been and are found intolerable, and still and are like to increase;' and 4 Jac. I., c. 5, 'An Act for repressing the odious and loathsome sin of drunkennesse.' The preamble of this last Act is remarkable for the vigour of its expression. It runs as follows:—

'Whereas the odious and loathsome sin of drunkenness is of late grown into common use within this realm, being the root and foundation of many other enormous sins, as bloodshed, stabbing, murder, swearing, fornication, adultery, and such like, to the great dishonour of God and of our nation, the overthrow of many good arts and manual trades, the disabling of divers workmen, and the general impoverishment of many good subjects subversively wasting the good creatures of God,' &c.

The Act is directed against the drinker; a fine of five shillings or six hours in the stocks being the penalty attached to the offence of drunkenness, and the provisions of a former Act* are extended to the party who might 'stay tippling,' as well as to the host. This Act was subsequently† incorporated with 1 Jac. I. c. 9, and made perpetual. That portion of the incorporated statute which affected *the seller* was afterwards repealed by an Act of Geo. II.; but, as a means of chastisement for the drinker it is still in force, and is the authority in virtue of which magisterial fines are daily inflicted on our disorderly population. It is, however, acknowledged by the best authority to be entirely insufficient. The honourable member for Bristol, Mr. Berkeley, desirous to show that his support of publican views and policy in the repeal of the Wilson Patten Beer Bill, did not arise from a sympathy with drunkenness, or preclude him from aiding

* 1 Jac. I. † By 21 Jac. I. c. 7.

other

other measures, gave notice, in 1856, of his intention to move 'for leave to introduce a bill' to repeal this statute as useless and ineffective, and to substitute very increased penalties on the unfortunate victim of the public-house. No hint was given of the propriety of bringing back *the seller* within the penalties—nor, indeed, has the original notice ever been proceeded upon.

But we need not look so far away from the date of the Act itself for proofs of its inadequacy. Within three years the House of Commons declared that, 'Whereas notwithstanding all former laws and provisions already made, the inordinate and extreme vice of excessive drinking and drunkenness doth more and more abound,' it was necessary to provide that one offence only against the acts we have recounted should be followed by a forfeiture of the licence for three years.

The court of Charles I. was certainly more domestic and virtuous than that of his father. Open profligacy was not chargeable to this most culpable and unfortunate of kings. But in the nation the same mischiefs we have already traced were still at work. The first parliament of Charles I. found it necessary to pass an Act* for 'the further restraint' of the evil, including as well taverns as wine-houses, and strangers as well as inhabitants in the provisions of former statutes. Not content with this, so great appears to have been the exasperation of the parliament, that 3 Car. I. c. 3. (1627), declares the alternative penalty to be fine or *whipping* for the prime offender; and imprisonment for a considerable period for the negligent officer.

The dire social disasters arising from the drinking-houses attracted the constant attention of the judges as well as of the legislature. The magistrates were continually admonished to allow as few as possible. 'I once did discharge two justices for setting up one ale-house,' said Lord Keeper Coventry, on one occasion, to the judges, before dismissing them to their circuits; 'and I shall be glad to do the same again upon the like occasion.' While, however, the efforts of Charles to dispense with parliaments not only checked the current of domestic legislation, but led to the civil war and the scaffold at Whitehall, the rise of the puritan spirit among the people was accompanied, as we might expect, with an increased sobriety. The rigid morals of the Commonwealth tolerated no such excesses as had disgraced the Cavaliers, and great efforts were made, not without success, to stay the ravages of drunkenness.

But the licence of the Restoration plunged the nation once more into the whirlpool of sensual vice. A court without decency, an aristocracy without nobility, a clergy without religion, could not exist, save among a people without sobriety. The virtue and

* 1 Car. I. c. 4 (1625).

modesty of the few who retained their purity of life were outraged by seeing titles and honours lavished on the king's bastards; and even the queen herself was compelled to smother her womanly indignation, and to receive with smiling courtesy the harlots of her husband.

By the year of the Great Plague, the common complaint was again of facilities for intemperance. In the 'orders conceived and published by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, concerning the infection of the Plague,' (1665) it is commanded 'that disorderly tippling in taverns, ale-houses, cellars, &c., be severely looked unto as the common sin of this time, and the greatest occasion of dispensing the plague.' It is also very interesting to notice that the same orders compel all taverns to close at NINE, an order which is declared to be 'according to the ancient law and custom of the City of London.' It is much to be regretted so excellent a custom should have fallen into disuse.

It was during the reign of Charles II. that the Excise was granted to the Crown in compensation for certain feudal rights. By this time the traffic in drink had become a gigantic national institution. The value of the wine licences alone was 24,000*l.* per annum, at which sum they were purchased by parliament from the Duke of York, to whom they had been assigned by statute, when they were revested in the Crown.

The 'Times' claims for every Englishman the constitutional liberty to 'get drunk.' Perhaps the 'Times' may be right. At all events, gin flavoured the glory of the Revolution of 1688. The appetite for spirits which characterised the Dutch, and the exigencies of the revenue felt by the parliament, soon led to an encouragement of distillation, and a rapidly increasing consumption of its products. In 1691, Stat. 2 W. and M., c. 9, was avowedly passed to encourage the consumption of corn in distillation; and in 1698, by 9 and 10 Wm. III., c. 22, was repealed, solely for the benefit of the revenue, the Stat. 39 Eliz., to which we have before alluded. The fruits of this legislation were soon visible. The destruction of the people's bread for the sake of gain was found to be too serious a mistake to treat with neglect, and it was thought needful, in 1699,* to prohibit excessive distillation from corn, because of the high price of food. Experience is a dear school; but even in that, statesmen will not always learn. The parliaments of Anne sacrificed all considerations to the necessities of the exchequer. In 1702 (1 Anne), distillation was again encouraged, only to be suppressed in 1709, and yet again attempted in 1713, with what results we shall presently see.

Among the curiosities of the Statute Book may here be alluded

* 10 and 11 Wm. III. c. 4.

to,

to, the frequent local Acts which empower the corporations of many Scottish boroughs to lay a tax upon the drink consumed within their boundaries, the proceeds to be applied in the erection of public works. Thus Montrose builds a bridge, or Dundee improves its harbour, or Linlithgow secures a supply of water by means of this effective substitute for borough rates.

Over the period of our history to which we have arrived—which may be called the period of 'the great gin epidemic'—we must hurriedly pass. Our space is too far exhausted to allow us to engage in its full investigation, and we therefore propose to return to it in a future and special article. We must now content ourselves with a rapid survey of its principal features.

The legislation we have already alluded to, as characterising the parliaments of Anne, could not fail to debauch and demoralise the nation. The intemperance which, as a consequence increasingly prevailed, was appalling. Gin was very cheap, not exceeding in price sixpence per quart. In 1725, the police returns of London and Southwark showed 6,178 spirit-shops, or one to every seven houses on the average of the entire city! In some districts this was far below the proportion. While food was thus made scarce and dear, brandy instead of provisions was hawked about the streets. In 1728, a feeble effort was made by 2 Geo. II., c. 17, to place a high price on licences, and to prohibit hawking. Even this slight check was too effective for the rapacity of Government. With an infatuation, the folly of which appears almost incredible, the Act was repealed by 6 Geo. II., c. 17 (1732), precisely *because* it was to some extent useful; the preamble of the latter Act assigning as a reason, 'because it has been a discouragement to distillation.' The full torrent of temptation was then turned upon the people. The result is told by Smollett in his account of the orgies which prevailed. 'Here,' proclaimed the signboards, 'you may get drunk for a penny, dead drunk for twopence, and have clean straw for nothing.' The magistrates of Middlesex petitioned the parliament in the strongest language they could employ; and at last, with a sudden energy and desperation as ill-timed as its previous conduct had been infatuated, the legislature passed the famous Gin Act of 1735—Stat. 9 Geo. II., c. 23. This Act itself describes the state of things it sought to remedy:—

'The drinking of spirituous liquors, or strong waters,' says the preamble, 'is become very common, especially among the people of lower or inferior rank; the constant and excessive use whereof tends greatly to the destruction of their healths—rendering them unfit for useful labour and business—debauching their morals, and inciting them to perpetrate all manner of vices, and the ill consequences of the excessive use of such liquors are not confined to the present generation, but extend to future ages, and to the devastation and ruin of this kingdom.'

The Act therefore provides, that every licence for sale in quantities of less than two gallons shall cost 50*l.*; that the retailer

shall pay a duty of twenty shillings per gallon on his stock; that no wages shall be paid in drink, and no hawking of spirits be allowed.

The excitement produced by this Act was intense. We reserve our examination of the intrigues which sought to make political capital out of it, of the difficulties which it met with, or of the causes which led to its failure. It must suffice here to say that its failure was complete. The people proclaimed the Act as the funeral of Old Mother Gin, but, 'like a phœnix, she rose from her ashes.' The consumption of spirits rapidly increased, and the law was openly violated notwithstanding numerous convictions.

No other result could be expected. To attempt by a sudden and unpopular measure to control an appetite which had been inflamed by every means which could be devised, was to expose law to ridicule and defiance. The mere increase of a licence fee could do little, while the great agent of temptation, the drink, was still there to incite the appetite to trample on all restraints.

This Act was repealed, in 1743, by 16 Geo. II., c. 8. The repeal was, however, in practical effect, a measure of greater restriction. The licence fee was reduced to twenty shillings, and greater certainty of inspection and control thus obtained; but the number to be granted was still further limited, by providing that only those should be entitled who had previously obtained licences for the sale of ale and beer. The alteration in the law did not, unhappily, amend the mischief. The consumption of spirits still continued to increase. In 1744, the Excise returns show a consumption of 10,581,000 gallons, which, in 1750, had increased to 11,200,000. The correctness of this statement is further borne out by the passing of Acts of increased stringency in 1747, by the petitions which were still poured into the House of Commons, ascribing the most grievous social dangers to the augmenting number of gin-shops, and by the enactment, in 1751, of the well-known 'Tippling Act,' 24 Geo. II., c. 40.

This statute, assigning the increase of licences as the cause of the still-growing intemperance, further limits their number, and, in addition, enacts that no debt shall be recoverable at law contracted for the supply of liquor in quantities less than twenty shillings' worth at one time. Under this ban of civil disability, the retailer of spirits, and he alone of all traders, still remains. Coincident with, though hardly consequent upon, the adoption of this measure, the Excise returns fell to 7,022,000 gallons, and the 'great gin epidemic' may be said to have passed its crisis.

In the course of a few years subsequent to the date of which we have just been treating, we find a class of circumstances entirely novel. The high price of corn which prevailed at intervals throughout the reigns of George II. and George III. rendered

dered active measures necessary to prevent waste and consequent famine. We have accordingly periods of various length, sometimes stretching over several years, when, for this reason, distillation was entirely prohibited.

What then, our readers will ask, was the result of this prohibition? What was the result of the absence of the appetite-creating drink? We have only space to afford an answer by three quotations. Smollett testifies:—

'That the common people had become apparently more sober, decent, healthy, and industrious, while the good and salutary effects of the prohibition were visible in every part of the kingdom.'

Mr. Colquhoun, in his 'Police of London,' says:—

'The poor were apparently more comfortable, paid their rents more regularly, and were better fed than at any period for some years before. There was more orderly conduct, quarrels and assaults were less frequent, and they resorted seldomer to the pawnbroker's shop.'

During this time, our readers must remember, bread was at the starvation price of fifteen-pence per quartern loaf. And finally, the House of Commons itself declared in the preamble to 33 Geo. II., c. 9, that

'The high price of spirituous liquors hath been a principal cause of the diminution of the home consumption thereof, and hath thereby greatly contributed to the health, sobriety, and industry of the common people. And it is therefore of the utmost importance to the public welfare that some timely provision should be made for preventing the return of all those mischiefs which must unavoidably ensue in case such spirituous liquors be again suffered to be sold at as low a rate as formerly.'

We must now scramble hastily over the mountains of legislation which lie on the surface of the statute-book. During the reign of George III. repeated intensifications and alterations of the law were attempted, generally assigning as a justification the inadequacy of the penalties. At last the parliament appeared to become aware that all its tinkering had produced an unshapely and useless article, and it solemnly announced its entire dissatisfaction with the work. The 3 Geo. IV., c. 77 (1822), commences with the significant words: 'Whereas, all the several statutes now in force for regulating, &c., are found to be defective and inefficient.' An Act was accordingly passed to consolidate all the statutes relating to this subject into one, but without any favourable result. After some time a notion sprung up that it was possible by a supply of what was considered a wholesome beverage—beer—to draw away the people from the consumption of ardent spirits; and under the auspices of Henry Brougham and other leading statesmen the Beer Bill, 11 Geo. IV. & 1 Wm. IV., was passed, in order to 'permit the general sale of beer.' On the result attendant on this experiment we need not enlarge. Three times amended, the Act is now universally condemned. To quote the Report of a Committee of the House of Lords, 'The consumption

consumption of ardent spirits has far from diminished, and the comforts and morals of the poor have been seriously impaired.' Ale-houses have been found to be as troublesome in the nineteenth century as they were in the times of Edward VI.

Such is our present position. With the undecided and timid legislation of the last few years our readers will be familiar. Suggestions and expedients without number have been laid before parliament. One influential party recommends an increase of facilities to the wine trade, hoping that light wine may effect a reform which beer has failed to accomplish. Others seek, by high price for licences, to limit the number of houses, without falling into the errors of the same scheme in 1735. Some, ignoring the experience of the Beer Bill, and hostile to monopolies, seek to throw open the trade to the enterprise and capital of all, without material restriction. Everybody admits that something must be done; nobody appears disposed courageously to face the difficulties of the question. How long the legislature will put new patches on an old garment, and so make the rent worse, it is impossible to predict.

What, then, are the lessons we should learn from this bitter experience of centuries? Are we to be disheartened and to despair of ever achieving our emancipation from the terrible thraldom of the public-house? It is true the evil cannot be tampered with, and breaks through all restraints. Must this always be so? Punishment and disgrace, fine and whipping, have alike proved inoperative to deter the drunkard; every expedient of restriction and regulation which it seems possible to devise has failed to purge the public-house of its fatal infection. Must we abandon all legislation, or can we hope for any thorough and radical remedy? If so, where, and how? The answer is ready and easy. We must 'abandon' all our preconceptions of legislation; we must courageously face the difficulty, and commence anew. The restrictions we have been discussing failed because they were founded in mistake.

Intemperance, or rather drunkenness—the particular evil against which we are to direct our efforts—is not, like dishonesty, a natural vice. It is as much a physical disease as a moral weakness. It is produced by a physical agent. The appetite for strong drink is not innate, it is acquired. No child, unless born of drunken parents, enters into life with a desire for strong drink. The first draught, taken in conformity to custom, asserts its power in the creation of a desire for the second, for its own sake. Drink satisfies no natural appetite—it creates an unnatural craving. A man who resorts to the pump to quench his thirst is not thereby impelled to revisit the pump at the earliest opportunity; but it is the peculiar characteristic of the public-house to exercise this fascination. The use of the drink, then, is the exciting cause

cause of the appetite for drink. The cause of the mischief is objective—external to the man; not subjective—within the man. Drunkenness is not a part of our natural sensuality or depravity, but a physical and moral state superinduced on these by the use of a physical agent. Let the appetite be created and excited by the presence of the objective temptation, and no refinement of education, or charms of wealth, or power of religious training, presents a barrier strong enough to resist its ungovernable fury. We do not say that this is, in *every* case, the result of a use of strong drink, but it is its universal *tendency*. Absolute safety for the individual can be found, therefore, only in absolute abstinence from that which does, in an awful number of instances, produce the drink appetite, and *may* do so in any one. Sound legislation with regard to intemperance must be based on a recognition of this truth. The peculiarity of the article sold infects the trade in it. The mischief which confessedly attends the public-house is not merely accidental, but essential and universal. The laws we have been considering were inoperative because they regulated only the circumstances under which the trade was to be carried on; the mischief did not lie in these, but in the trade itself; in the very article traded in. We have entirely failed in our purpose if our readers have been unable to trace something of this. The tempting drink, however its sale may be restricted, always generates an appetite which sets restriction at defiance. The high price of licences and the stringent regulations of 1735 failed when the liquor was there to inflame and madden;—the prohibitions of 1760 resulted in blessings when the exciting drink was absent. Just, we conceive, as individual safety will be found in abstinence alone, national safety must be sought in 'entire prohibition.'

We know this is a startling proposition. We are prepared for a host of indignant objections, but we are not dismayed. We are willing to admit there may be uses for alcohol in medicine and the arts, but we boldly venture to suggest that one sound, just, and effective measure, prohibiting, for purposes of beverage, its manufacture and sale, should displace all the ineffective expedients we have been discussing.

We believe such a law, based on an enlightened public sentiment, would be sound in principle and just in operation. The individual right of the citizen is strictly limited by the requirements of society. The security of the individual is dependent on the ability of the state to assert its authority. The primary guarantees of life, liberty, and property cannot be conferred unconditionally. Society must reserve the power of depriving any citizen of any or all of these rights if his exercise of them tend to render their enjoyment by others uncertain and insecure. The guarantees

guarantees of society must obviously be qualified by the necessity for their own preservation. No social act can be tolerated the constant tendency of which is to subvert them. What is a trade in alcohol? It is a trade in an article which always has been, and always must be, dangerous; not, as with other dangerous articles, according to situation or circumstances, but peculiarly and essentially. The *specific* action of alcohol is, physically, on the brain, to disorganise its structure; morally, therefore, to dethrone reason, and substitute appetite as the governing power. Alcohol is confessedly, and for this reason, our great crime-producer. On the first principles of self-preservation, then, we submit, the state should declare illegal any trade in any such article.

We admit that such a measure would be possible, not to say useful, only in proportion to its popularity. More obviously than other laws this would need to be based on a prevalent public opinion. But the public opinion would not be sufficient without the law. There will always be avarice, and indifference, and cruelty, and selfishness to set public opinion at naught. Public opinion must be empowered to enforce itself against them. Unless sustained by public opinion, law would be useless; unless armed with law, public opinion would be powerless. A practical solution of the difficulties of the question has been thrown before the country by the United Kingdom Alliance, an association formed for the purpose of promoting its public discussion. This will be found in 'Suggestions for a Permissive Bill,' which, if embodied in an Act of the legislature, would enable a largely preponderating majority *of the inhabitants of a district* by vote to suppress the trade in strong drink within their limits. We recommend this new recognition of the rights of self-government to the consideration of our readers. Social reformers have long been content to dam up the streams of vice and corruption which flow on all sides, and have neglected to drain the stagnant pool from which they are supplied. They have exercised thought and efforts on means of cure for social diseases, and have done little to prevent them. 'Prevention is the best bridle,' says Owen Feltham. 'It is in a man to avoid the occasion, but not the inconvenience when he hath admitted it. Let a giant knock, *while the door is shut* he may with ease be still kept out; but if it once open that he gets in but a limb of himself, then there is no course left to keep out the entire bulk.'

Art. VIII.—OUR FRIENDS IN COUNCIL.

THERE are many persons deeply interested in questions of social reform who may have neither time nor ability to write an elaborate article for the press. There are especially those who are practically engaged in some of the departments of philanthropy, whose opinions and experiences are of the greatest value. They are consulted by legislators and by liberal benefactors who are anxious to do something for the improvement of society, but who do not know how, and their suggestions have been found most sagacious and practical. It is not to be expected that we can arrive at the best method of curing the many evils that afflict society without due consideration of different proposals, and perhaps not without various trials. To gather up wisdom on the several subjects of social improvement, this article is designed for our friends in council, and will be open within certain limits to the communications with which we may be favoured. Controversial correspondence would be out of place in a quarterly review, the intervals of publication being long, and the space at command limited. We shall, therefore, be more gratified to receive new suggestions, than criticism on the articles in our pages. Of course such suggestions may be different from those we may publish, but they may also be emendations. As our space is limited, brevity must be studied by those who address us. *We do not endorse the opinions of our correspondents.*

The Great Social Evil.

On this important subject we have received the following from Professor Newman, of University College, London:—

'You have undertaken to deal with vast and perplexing topics. Your articles upon them cannot be exhaustive. You will need "line upon line, precept upon precept," and, if you are to gather, purify, unite, fuse, and intensify Public Opinion, you must (under due limits of space) allow the supporters of "Meliora" to express themselves freely in council. Presuming on this freedom, I address some words to you concerning the Vices of the Streets. To suppress the vices in question when they are mature is impossible: to drive them into greater secrecy seems to me difficult, useless, and even hurtful. To hunt wretched women from street to street, does not extirpate or lessen vice. At best we could thus only *pacify the public conscience* and whitewash our loathsome sepulchre. That both sexes should know of the vice and its ruinous mischiefs, so long as it exists, is more wholesome—and far less dangerous to the weak—than if it were hushed up. The more painfully it is obtruded on us, the better chance will there be of combining the forces of society to extirpate it radically.

'I cannot believe that any man, who is not already mentally corrupted, is ever *allured* by immodest advances. On the contrary, I believe that the touch of a strange woman on his arm palsies and repels him like the touch of a torpedo; and until either bad companions or other subtler influences undermine his repugnance, he is naturally shy and modest, like a woman. Such is not merely my private conviction, but that which is confirmed to me by one whose position gives him wide experience. I was never in the secrets of profligates, but I used to hear at Oxford, that it was only *after drinking-parties* that a young man could be brought to such a degradation *for the first time* as to consort with a strange woman. In London, I hear, that *after a drinking-bout* the experienced sinners lead out the inexperienced, and guide them to haunts of vice. Such determinate vice will not be cheated by barricades across a few handsome streets. If young men are to be strengthened against such dangers, it is by teaching them to shun the beginnings of excess in drink, to shun evil companions, immodest allusions and suggestions, and cultivate purity of heart. I well know that some who condemn their own youth as inwardly *im*pure, can attest that an immodest woman always repelled them: hence I do gravely doubt whether these wretched creatures (painful as are their solicitations) can ever justly be called a "temptation," except to one already corrupted and not new to vice.

'I will go further. I say, that many sculptures and pictures, not perhaps indecent (for decency varies with manners

ners and associations), kindle voluptuous imaginations in young men, and sap their virtue. Artists, and men who secretly disdain purity, overwhelm us with insult if we deprecate voluptuous figures, and call us not only prudish and Puritanical, but impure. But if they even know men to be impure, is that any reason why our evil tendencies are to be inflamed by pernicious allurements? Nay, because the public vice proves how easy of corruption is a terrible proportion of young men, precisely on that account we justly deprecate seducing exhibitions. It is not the ugly and indecent which chiefly corrupt: this is painful, loathsome, repulsive. But that which does *not* offend good taste, that which is beautiful in itself and pleasing, which perhaps may be gazed at with pure admiration by elder men, is often exactly the most fatal means of corruption to young men, who could not have been harmed by that which was ugly. I do but now throw out a *protest*, that Art and Poetry, when they become voluptuous, are the subtlest poisons to the young; and that it is more important to guard them from these secret influences than from anything obtrusively immodest.

'But I do not mean hereby to say, that no duty of repressing and punishing vice directly rests on the State. Let the law against "brothels" (if any one will show us how) be improved, and actively enforced. Nevertheless, there is in my opinion a far more fundamental and earlier punishment needful.

'If there were no Seduction, there could be none of this traffic in vice. The average course of the victims of the traffic is estimated at five or six years, and at most rarely ten. Hence the evil would die out in ten years, if a severe check were given to Seduction. As I heard an eloquent young man say of the Liquor Traffic,—"If a boat has a hole in it, we are in more haste to stop the hole than to bale off the water: so, to stop the manufacture of new drunkards is more urgent work than to reform old ones." Just so, *to stop seduction is more urgent work than to punish or reform the seduced.* Dry up the fountains, and you will have no morass. *Crime*, not Vice, is confessedly the right word for Seduction. It is a deadly social wrong, evidently crying for punishment. It is not only the woman who is injured. Even if she be ever so headlong in her terrible course, yet *society* is injured, and emphatically her *kinsfolk;* and from the nature of the case, the legal presumption must be that the man is primarily guilty. On him alone should come the legal penalties; since nature and society reserve only too many for the woman. Two classes of criminals herein concerned need different punishment. The man who dishonours a woman should be punished by *public stripes.* His crime being prompted by base desire, is best repressed by ignominy. The severity of the stripes should be so moderated, as not to excite pity for his suffering. Fathers who now wink at the offence in their sons will become fierce against it, as soon as the law threatens it with public disgrace; and if once the rich and noble renounce it, they will not be tender of the crime in the poor. Even the outcry for such a punishment would awaken reflection and stimulate conscience. At present, I am informed that the worst seducers in London are middle-aged and old rich men, with whom this horrible iniquity is a fixed habit and perpetual pursuit; so that no one can say how many women one bad man ruins for life.

'The second class of criminals are the accomplices in seduction. Gain being their object, *ruinous fines* are the proper punishment. This also would bring judgments against many brothels, and might cripple their whole trade. For (possibly) their greatest gains rise from partnership in seduction, often so carried on as to be really violation.

'A right of action against both classes of criminals should be given to every kinsman or kinswoman of the seduced, who should have no power of stopping the cause except by denying the fact. If she was previously *notoriously* immoral (so that she has lost no honour) or if she is married by her seducer, either fact would break up the proceedings; but as far as I at present see, nothing else should be a bar to punishment.

'Yours, &c.,

'F. W. Newman.'

Art. IX.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

THE electrical phenomena exhibited during the last three months in the atmosphere of politics have attracted so much of the public attention that our records of social legislation and progress must necessarily be meagre. The administration of Lord Derby which, at the time we last wrote, seemed to be regarded more as a few hours' interregnum than a permanent or even temporary accession of a great party to power, has partly by dexterous management, partly by the chivalric support of some political opponents, partly by disunion among others, and partly by a series of fortunate accidents, become an accepted fact, and appears likely to acquire a stability little expected.

Amid the struggles which have been needful to attain this position, but little regard could be bestowed on those questions of social ethics which thrive only under the calm influences of political and party peace. The Amendment of the Law has, however, made some progress in the hands of the law officers of the crown. The Law of Bankruptcy, the consolidation of the Criminal Statute Law, and other important measures, will shortly receive the attention of the legislature, though they are not yet sufficiently advanced to allow more specific details in our Record.

India and its government has been of all others the absorbing topic of interest. This is reasonable and just. Not merely for the present are many interests, domestic and national, centred in the progress of events there, but the future of much of our mercantile prosperity and manufacturing industry will be largely affected by the decisions arrived at. To the credit of the House of Commons, with one notable exception, complete party neutrality seems to have been tacitly agreed upon with reference to India, and a series of resolutions, upon which a measure will ultimately be based, has been adopted with some degree of unanimity. It does not fall within the scope of our Review to discuss these resolutions; but, as bound up with the material prosperity of vast numbers of our people, a reform in our Indian government is not without interest, even as a question of social science. While, as was shown in our last issue, we have succeeded in developing a trade in opium, it must not be forgotten that we have entirely neglected the vast resources of a mighty empire. Our merchants have but a very small share in the supply of the wants of the people of India. While to Australia British exports are sent to the value of 12*l.* per head of the population; and Mauritius—the worst of our colonial customers—takes to the value of 2*l.* per head; the consumption of India has only reached the sum of *one shilling and one penny* per head. And this, it must be borne in mind, while navigable rivers open up vast tracts of cotton country; while labour is cheap, and in the Bombay presidency alone thousands are clamouring for employment; and while at home, Manchester and its industrious artisans have, during the present year, been within thirty days of a cotton famine, the horrors of which would be in no respect less terrible than those attendant on a dearth of corn.

This question of Cotton Supply is not a mere business question, or one which should be attended to merely by spinners and weavers. It is a great question, involving the prosperity and stability of a mighty industry. We are glad, therefore, to know that its claims are urged and maintained by a special association. We may probably direct attention to it at some future time with greater detail.

The Employment of Women in some suitable and remunerative manner eminently claims the attention of the social reformer. Recent disclosures at the police courts of the amounts paid and earned by poor sempstresses at once strike us with shame at the rapacity of the traders, and compassion for the poor victims to the unrelenting spirit of cheapness. Who can wonder at the desperate plunge into crime or vice or death which often startles us? Political economists tell us that these things are the result of inexorable laws; that certain relations do exist between employer and employed, between capital and labour, between work and wages; but still the question recurs,

recurs, and, with a pertinacity which will not be beaten off, our conscience reiterates, Must it always be so? We know that it is—we know that certain positions do govern the relations of master and workman—do regulate the rate of wages—*but* OUGHT IT TO BE SO?

With regard to the ordinary topics of social interest and inquiry, we have little to record.

The efforts made by the publicans of Scotland to injure the Forbes M'Kenzie Act have, so far, been unsuccessful. Lord Melgund, who had agreed to obtain, if possible, 'a committee of inquiry' to inquire on one side, has postponed—we hope indefinitely—his motion to that effect.

The societies devoted to the agitation of social questions have brought their winter campaign to a close by their usual assembly in London during the month of May. Generally their meetings have been very successful, and have displayed a growing popular interest in social science and reform. Their members have generally dispersed to enjoy the quiet and relaxation of a summer holiday, in which enjoyment we heartily wish our readers every participation.

ART. X.—LITERARY REVIEWS.

A Layman's Contribution to the Knowledge and Practice of Religion in Common Life; being the substance of a course of Lectures introductory to the study of Moral Philosophy. By William Ellis. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1857.

THE author of this volume has devoted himself to the study and illustration of social science, and has published several works upon the subject. He considers—and we think he is right—that there has hitherto been a fatal omission in not making this science one of the principal subjects of instruction in our schools. Much of the suffering, and many of the evils which exist among the lower classes, arise from ignorance and bad habits. Social economy in its simplest elements has not been taught by teachers, nor have Christian ministers made the morals and religion affecting this so much a topic of their pulpit discourse as its importance demands. Mr. Ellis, though a layman, has led the way in expounding this subject. The volume before us consists of a series of lectures delivered to young persons belonging to the 'upper ten thousand;' but they are equally useful to the middle and working classes.

He discourses in a simple, intelligible, and earnest manner on such themes as industry and its skilful pursuit; the division of labour; the rewards of labour; property, bargains, and wages; capitalists and labourers; landlords and tenants; money and credit; bankers and banks; and other topics—all in their moral, religious, and relative aspect.

Throughout the twenty chapters of this book, much information on points which all ought to know is imparted; and we earnestly hope that the sagacious and practical counsels of the author may meet with the attention they deserve. Schoolmasters and ministers of religion would do well to make themselves acquainted with it; as they have opportunity to instruct others in the wholesome lessons, it may teach themselves. Social science ought to form a subject of education both in our common schools, working men's colleges, and our universities; and we trust the day is not far distant when a respectable acquaintance with its various departments will be indispensable to all candidates for scholastic and ecclesiastical offices. An improvement is being made already; and in the volumes of the Rev. William Arnot of Glasgow, Dr. Guthrie of Edinburgh, and the Rev. Charles Kingsley, we have evidence that there are clergymen not incapable or afraid of handling social questions. In the University College School, London, there is a class formed for the study of industrial and social science. There are chairs of political economy in some of our universities; but should not attendance be imperative, and a successful examination in its principles be passed by every intending graduate?

Laws from Heaven for Life on Earth. Illustrations of the Book of Proverbs. By the Rev. William Arnot, St. Peter's Free Church, Glasgow. Vols. I. and II. T. Nelson and Sons: London, Edinburgh, and New York. 1858.

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Few persons are able to illustrate and enforce the Book of Proverbs; but Mr. Arnot is well adapted to the work he has undertaken and so ably executed. He has an accurate scholarship, a clear perception, a rigorous logic, strong convictions, and ardent sympathies; and can give manly expression to his thoughts in 'words that burn.' The volumes before us are not critical or expository in the ordinary sense of these terms. They consist of short, pointed, and pithy papers founded on the Proverbs of Solomon, and designed to illustrate them, but directed to the hearts and consciences of the people of our own day. They form a collection of Christian ethics exactly suited to these times. They are homilies for men of business, and for social life. Fully acquainted with the character of a busy people and with the Scriptures, he boldly brings both together—unmasking the sins that stain the transactions of business, and the diseases that prey upon society, enforcing the laws which ought to regulate men in every sphere, and summoning all, as they shall answer at the bar of the great Judge, 'to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God.' While radiant with evangelical light, and glowing with a fervid piety, and sparkling with apt illustrations, there is in these volumes a rich practical philanthropy.

The various papers are not too long to weary, and they have a freshness of illustration to charm the reader. We sincerely wish that young men entering upon active business had these volumes in their libraries. Under so sagacious a counsellor as Mr. Arnot, they would be likely to grow up in the love and practice of whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report. There are few temptations to which youth is exposed but are touched upon by the royal preacher. No book is more fitted to be a young man's companion in business than the Proverbs of Solomon. Its sententious sayings are the 'wise saws' for 'modern instances;' and with so genial a guide to their interpretation and application as Mr. Arnot in his 'Illustrations,' the aspiring youth will find that he can do better than condescend to sin to insure worldly success. Many fine passages might be quoted; but we prefer enticing our readers to procure and peruse the work for themselves. It is elegantly got up and published at a very moderate price. Of the first volume eleven thousand have been circulated, and the second will doubtless follow in a similar circuit.

Essays, Physiological and Critical, on the Principles of Temperance. By Frederick Richard Lees, Ph. D. London: Tweedie. 1858.

This volume is a collection of essays on subjects more or less connected with Temperance. Some of them are highly scientific, others keenly controversial, and all of them severely logical. Dr. Lees is a clear reasoner, scrupulously exact in his words of debate, and ready to meet an adversary from any quarter, and to examine, and, if necessary, to refute, every objection that can be raised against his views. Those, therefore, who peruse the valuable works which he has contributed to Temperance cannot fail to derive much instruction, or to be intellectually quickened. 'The Physiological History of Alcohol,' which occupies eighty pages of this volume, is an argument of great research and power. It was originally written in 1848, ten years in advance of Professor Miller's 'Alcohol, its Place and Power,' which propounds the same doctrine. The doctor of philosophy, though he has not written so popularly, has written more scientifically, logically, and learnedly than the professor of surgery. We recommend our readers to peruse this valuable essay. The 'Plea for the Primitive Diet of Mankind' is a prize essay in favour of vegetarianism, and contains some very interesting statements, as also does the essay 'On Longevity.' The controversial papers that follow are by no means the least valuable portion of the volume. They discuss the objections that have been urged against total abstinence by divines, medical practitioners, and literary reviewers. Dr. Lees is quite at home alike in biblical exegesis, physiology, ethics, and politics; and his works merit the thoughtful perusal of the studious in each of these departments of knowledge.

James Montgomery: A Memoir, Political and Poetical. By J. W. King. London: Partridge and Co. 1858.

There was needed a brief biography of the bard of Sheffield, and Mr. King has ably supplied it. The volume before us sketches the whole career of James

James Montgomery, and contains a discriminating review of his works. The author has reverence and affection enough to keep him always *en rapport* with his hero: but his fine poetic taste, analytic skill, and sound critical acumen, have enabled him to present such an estimate of the poet-editor as posterity will approve. His style is vigorous, often slap-dash, but pictorial and poetical. This book will supplant the seven-volumed biography by Mr. Holland, in which the life of James Montgomery was in danger of oblivion.

Masters and Workmen. A Tale for the Times. By Sarah E. B. Paterson, Author of 'Sister Agnes,' &c. London: Nelson and Sons.

A good tale written with a view to improve 'Masters and Workmen' in their individual and relative characters. It commends a stronger, healthier sympathy between employer and employed, disapproves of combinations of one class or the other, and counsels the possession of piety as the best means of social reform. It deserves a circulation in our busy spheres of industry, alike in the mansions of the employer and the cottages of the working men. Its thoughtful perusal would aid to improve them both. Its style is engaging, and its descriptions life-like. Norchester will readily be recognised by all acquainted with the Tyne. *Monkchester* was, we believe, its ancient name.

Morning Dew Drops; or, the Juvenile Abstainers. By Mrs. Clara Lucas Balfour. London: W. and F. G. Cash.

This work is written in a pleasing style, and adapted to the intelligence of youth. It is replete with much information on the Temperance question, and discusses the subject with considerable ability. It is withal pervaded with a fine spirit, and can scarcely fail to impress the reader, whether juvenile or adult. The Temperance cause depends greatly upon the rising generation; and we trust this book will be extensively perused, and be successful in forming many 'bands of hope.'

Good, Better, Best; or, Three Ways of making a Happy World. By the Rev. J. W. Alexander, D.D., New York. With Introductory Notice by the Rev. R. S. Candlish, D.D. T. Nelson and Sons, London, Edinburgh, and New York. 1858.

This is a tale without a very deep plot or great dramatic power; but it is well written, and contains much wisdom. Two young persons of intelligence, sympathy with suffering humanity, and anxiety to do good, are the chief characters portrayed. They are guided, or rather disciplined, in their inquiries and benevolent schemes by a sagacious uncle, who has seen much of the world, learned much by experience, and has himself been a practical philanthropist. The remedies suggested by this work are those which are needed by society, and they stand in the relative worth of the felicitous title, *Good, Better, Best.* It is *good* to care for the *body*, by promoting cleanliness, industry, and sanitary reform. It is *better* to care for the *mind*, by extending and improving the education of the people; but it is *best* —not, however, by neglecting or disparaging the other two—to care for the *soul*, and aid in the preparation of man for the high destiny which he may attain in an immortal existence.

The Purgatory of Prisoners; or, an Intermediate Stage between the Prison and the Public; being some account of the Practical Working of the New System of Penal Reformation introduced by the Board of Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland. By the Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. Second Edition. London: Masters. 1858.

This pamphlet deals with a question of deepest importance to society, and may be recommended to the careful consideration of those who are interested in the improvement of criminals. The ticket-of-leave system has been much maligned by the press, very unjustly we conceive, and as will be shown more fully in this review. It is important, therefore, that facts such as Mr. Shipley brings before the public should be considered; for if they establish the proposition that tickets-of-leave may be safely given to a large proportion of those who have been punished for their crimes, the sooner that such a system as has been in operation in Ireland is extended all over the United Kingdom the better. It has been frequently remarked that a large per-centage of those who pass through our public prisons return to penal servitude. The different results of the course pursued by the Board of Directors of Irish Prisons are very striking. 'In 1854 the present Board of Directors came to the

the helm of convict affairs: the present system of humanising and Christianising convicts came, though very imperfectly, into existence.' Since that period they have sent 1300 prisoners through a probationary course in their intermediate institutions. 'With a discharge of between five and six hundred criminals upon tickets-of-license, in a period of twenty months, only seventeen revocations of liberty have taken place. In other words, in round numbers, three per cent. of "exemplary" Irish prisoners, after a definite training in an intermediate establishment, relapse either into irregularity of life or into absolute crime.'

The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley. By Thomas Jefferson Hogg. Vols. I. and II. London: Moxon. 1858.

Mr. Hogg, in 1832, wrote some papers on Shelley in the 'New Monthly Magazine,' and Mrs. Shelley, the accomplished widow of the poet, meditated a biography, for which she had prepared a few notes, when she was arrested by the merciless hand of her father-in-law, who threatened to stop the supplies granted to the mother of his heir, if she should write anything for the press. Twenty years have since passed away, and Mr. Hogg, who is in many respects best fitted to prepare a life of his departed friend, has addressed himself to the task. The two first volumes are before us, and two are yet to be published. Biographers have not always the highest discrimination, and Mr. Hogg has his failings. He has a recklessness of thought, and a want of reverence, somewhat like Shelley, whom he estimates too partially. His style is vigorous and expressive, but often very abrupt. New paragraphs are introduced without any explanation. The connecting link of the history is often awanting. Nevertheless, the portraiture of Shelley is singularly faithful. Mr. Hogg was a college companion of the poet, and shared in his expulsion from Oxford. It is ever to be regretted that so fine a mind as was possessed by Shelley should have been so neglected by those who ought to have trained it. His home education was sadly deficient, and it appears that the University professors and tutors took little pains with their gifted pupil. Thus his mind ran wild, and adopted the most erratic and destructive opinions; his conduct became wilful; and, too early superior to parental control, he was entangled in an ill-advised marriage, which in no degree contributed to his welfare. In the second volume Mr. Hogg narrates some of the wanderings of the poet and his wife, who could never rest in any one place, and were frequently in financial straits from want of forethought and economy. In the course of a few years they were resident in Edinburgh, York, Keswick, Dublin, Killarney, North Wales, Devonshire, and in the neighbourhood of London. During their migrations they were accompanied by Mrs. Shelley's sister Eliza, who seems to have become an evil genius to the poet. Destitute of ideas, occupying many hours in the important exercise of brushing her hair, the dictator of her sister's feelings and movements, she aided to make Shelley unhappy at home.

Our readers will doubtless peruse these fascinating volumes, over whose pages are scattered many curious and entertaining stories. The notes on the Return to Nature, the advantages of nudity, vegetable diet, the rights of women, &c., are very amusing. So also is the description of the scholar who read nothing but Greek—Homer once a year, and other authors in a regular three years' course—occupying every day, with the exception of Sunday, when, as became a clerk in holy orders, he read the Septuagint and the New Testament in the original, and took a glance at the newspapers!

Shelley's life, for a considerable period after his expulsion from college, was without an object. He read voraciously, philosophised about the improvement of society, removed from place to place, but had no special study, no pursuit. He was still a minor, though a father, in 1814, when the second volume closes. We shall look with interest for the remaining volumes of a life which was so strange and so sad.

The Good Soldier. A Memoir of Major-General Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B. Compiled from Authentic Sources by the Rev. W. Owen. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1858.

This biography will not suffer from a comparison with the sketch by the Rev. W. Brock. It is an able summary of the events of the life of Havelock, and presents fuller accounts of his campaigns and publications than are given in any other Memoir we have seen.

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The Crisis of Being. The Progress of Being. By the Rev. D. Thomas, Stockwell. Third Edition. London: Ward and Co.

These two small volumes being already in their third edition are now beyond criticism. They are full of original thought, expressed in terse and untechnical language, and press upon young men matters of deepest interest to their well-being.

Theology in Verse; or, Poems on the Fundamental Truths of Christianity, Doctrinal and Practical. By J. P. Shorthouse. London: Aylott and Co. 1858.

The author of this work entertains some doubt 'whether it was worth sending to the press,' and we believe many will acquiesce therein. 'For the learned—for critics,' he says, 'there will be nothing here but faults.' It is, then, in vain to criticise. We wish the pious author had made plain prose the vehicle of his usefulness.

The New World: the First Chapter of Genesis expounded by the Science of Analogy. A Dialogue in Verse. Birmingham: Hugh Murdoch.

This dialogue is akin to the preceding. The miscellaneous pieces are better than the sacred; but true poetry is wanting.

The British Controversialist and Impartial Inquirer. Re-issue. Vol. I. London: Houlston and Stoneman.

There are some able papers in this work, of which we may mention the clear and well-written treatise on the 'Art of Reasoning.' Many questions of great importance are also discussed in a good spirit, and in a way likely to suggest and stimulate inquiry.

Lectures to Young Men. By the Rev. John Morrison, D.D., LL.D. London: Ward and Co.

Glimpses of Great Men; or, Biographic Thoughts of Moral Manhood. By the Rev. A. J. Morris, Holloway. Ward and Co.

Dr. Morrison's work is earnest, thoughtful, and Christian, and calculated to interest young men in their age and the great philanthropic movements now in progress. Mr. Morris writes with great spirit, and his thoughts and illustrations are most suggestive.

Try: a Book for Boys. By Old Jonathan. London: Collingridge. 1858.

The interest of this excellent and illustrated book is greatly increased by the pictorial outline appended to it, of the Rise and Progress of the Bonmahon Industrial, Infant, and Agricultural Schools in the county of Waterford, where the author has laboured with much success to improve his parishioners and encourage industry. In the printing establishment, where boys only are employed, many valuable works have been composed and issued from the press. Such philanthropic efforts deserve encouragement.

Chapeltown; or, the Fellow Students. By an English Congregational Minister. London: Ward and Co. 1857.

A tale illustrative of ministerial experience, and showing its encouraging and discouraging aspects. It is written with good taste, and contains lessons which congregations and young ministers would do well to learn.

Exeter Hall Sermons for the Working Classes. With Portrait and Memoir of the Bishop of London. Partridge and Co.

This volume contains twelve plain, earnest, and eloquent sermons on the great salvation. It is an interesting social sign that this literature in a cheap form finds many purchasers.

Voices from the Garden; or, the Christian Language of Flowers. By S. W. Partridge.

We have been much pleased with this *brochure*. It is vastly superior to the common sentimentalism called the 'Poetry of Flowers.' The eye of a naturalist, the heart of a Christian, and the pen of a poet, are manifest in these twenty-eight beautiful poems.

Handel: His Life, Personal and Professional. With Thoughts on Sacred Music. By Mrs. Bray. London: Ward and Co. 1857.

A very interesting sketch of the great composer, whose life, as well as his works, have been naturalised in England. It is written *con amore*.

Memorials of Sir H. Havelock, K.C.B. By James P. Grant. London: Berger.

A fair compilation, but without the personal and family details from authentic sources which render a biography valuable.

Meliora.

Art. I.—1. *The Social Condition of the People in England and Europe.* By Joseph Kay, Esq., M.A. 2 vols. London: 1850.
2. *Journal of the Bath and West of England Society.* New Series. Vol. vi. London: 1858.

THE pastoral poet is a literary fossil. The verses of Bion, Moschus, and Theocritus are the remains of a Palæozoic period in literature. Guarini, Marino, Sannazaro, Gay, Thomson, and Shenstone are of a later date indeed; but even these belong to a Mesozoic era which, no less than its predecessor, has utterly passed away. Corydon and Amaryllis, Damon and Cælia, Silvio and Daphne, may no longer be seen except as petrified witnesses of departed life. Very beautiful, no doubt, was Arcadia with its wood-clothed hills, its stream-watered ravines, its sun-tipped mountains, and 'boundless contiguity of shade.' The simple shepherd heard a dryad whispering in every tree, a naiad murmuring in every waterfall. The old belief is dead. The old worshipper is extinct. The poet will hold no fellowship with the statistician. Faith flies at sight of blue-books.

Were Spenser to read over the list of the learned societies that now hold their frequent *séances* in London, there would be one name which, more than any other, would cause him to shudder. More repulsive than the Palæontological, more dismal than the Numismatic, more hopelessly wearisome than the Entomological—the Statistical would, in his fancy, be comprised of men with yellow wizened bodies, lean and withered souls; of men whose whole existence was spent in endless practice of the four rules of arithmetic.

And yet it requires no great amount of chivalry to do battle in this cause. Statistics are the foundation of our knowledge of all outward phenomena. They are the bones and sinews, the nerves and muscles of legislation. Reforms are impossible without their aid. No lasting improvements can be accomplished without their assistance.

'Had statistics,' says Dr. Guy, 'effected nothing more than the substitution of *figures* for *words*, they would have established a strong claim to our approbation. Nothing can be more variable or worse defined than the meanings of some words in constant use. What meaning are we to attach to such vague words as "*sometimes*," "*generally*," "*occasionally*," "*in the majority of cases?*" These terms have every possible signification, and vary in their meaning with the varying dis-

 position

position and more or less sanguine character of those who use them. The "*sometimes*" of the cautious is the "often" of the sanguine; the "*always*" of the empiric; the "never" of the sceptic. But the numbers 1, 10, 100, 1000, have but one meaning for all mankind.'*

To obtain trustworthy statistics is the peculiar duty of a good government. With us the census is not only lawful, but obligatory; and, indeed, David did not sin in numbering the people, but in forgetting that the Jewish polity was a theocracy.† Figures are the only safe data on which the statesman or philanthropist can rely. Whosoever wishes to correct a great national abuse, or remedy a crying social evil, must curb impatient enthusiasm, restrain his generous ardour, while he seeks in blue-books for his axioms and definitions, from which he may deduce incontrovertible propositions.

We purpose to lay before our readers a few facts connected with the condition of our *rural population*—facts which are the result of extensive inquiries made by various writers, and of some considerable amount of personal investigation. From the census of 1851 we learn that the population of Great Britain in that year was 21,121,967. These figures have been divided into various classes, representing the occupations of the people. The agricultural is one of the largest of these divisions. It includes 2,390,568 persons, or more than one-tenth of the whole population, all of whom are possessors, or occupiers of, or labourers on the land. The value of these figures is best understood by comparison with another class. The three learned professions, with their allied and subordinate members, comprise 110,730 persons, or not a hundred and ninetieth part of the population. In the specially agricultural counties, such as Wilts, Norfolk, and Dorset, the agricultural, in proportion to the total number of inhabitants, is respectively 1 in 5·7, 1 in 6·7, and 1 in 7. 'And even in the manufacturing counties of Stafford and Lancashire, the proportion is 1 in 19, and 1 in 36, respectively.

It will, perhaps, be a matter of surprise that, in spite of London, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and other great marts of trade (where there are multitudes of people who do not know wheat from barley, and who would ask with a puzzled air, as we were once asked by an inhabitant of the last-named town, 'Why do they mangle the wurzels?'), the agricultural class should be so large. It is this fact which so much astonishes foreigners when they visit England. One of the most intelligent of these, M. de Lavergne, in his very able 'Essay on the Rural Economy of Great Britain and Ireland,' states, that the belief was until very lately prevalent among our continental neighbours that we had neglected farming for manufactures. He himself, on his visit to this

* 'Statistical Society's Journal,' vol. ii.

† See Exodus xxx. 12.

country,

country, was quite amazed at our broad pastures, our waving corn-fields, our flocks of sheep and cattle upon a thousand hills. He was likewise forcibly impressed with the *centrifugal* tendencies of the English; that whereas in France every provincial who has made his fortune rushes to the capital, so that Paris has enormously increased at the expense of many departments where the population has actually receded; in England, on the contrary, the prosperous tradesman, the successful merchant, the millionnaire banker, look upon a 'country seat,' as the natural reward of their labours.

With us the owner of a hundred thousand pounds in the funds is a man of little mark compared with the lord of two thousand acres of land. In France, on the contrary, there are not many who follow the example of the wise and witty Montaigne. Very few can feel any pride or pleasure in being the seigneur of some obscure village. This diversity of character has operated greatly to the advantage of the Englishman. It has checked that spirit of excessive speculation, which, though powerful enough, is mild when compared with the mania that from time to time infects all ranks in Paris. Land, fortunately for us, is not subject to great or sudden fluctuations in value. There is little room for speculation in the purchase of real property. Some long-headed lawyer may buy a few acres on the chance of a railway hereafter cutting through his property, and bright visions of 'severance damages,' and compensations for mythical injuries, may make his dreams pleasant; or some calculating builder may purchase a few roods with the intention of erecting thereon, at heavy ground-rents, 'first-class residences' in the very substantial style of suburban dwellings commonly met with in the neighbourhood of London. But this is the extent of the evil. The possession of land gives to the owner a feeling of security and substantiality which fifty times the value in railway shares would fail to produce. The latter, indeed, are often things to be disposed of as quickly as possible. The former is a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί to be loved and enjoyed more and more. But there is another side to this question.

It has been asked more than once in the present century, 'What is it which gives a right to the possession of the soil?' Political economists boldly tell us that land cannot be viewed in the same way as money. The man who has gained a million of pounds makes no one else the poorer; but he who is lord of fifty thousand acres of ground takes them away from others, who, *primâ facie*, have as much right to them as he. It is a startling fact, affirmed by Mr. Kay, that whereas, 'In the year 1770 there were in England alone 250,000 freehold estates in the hands of 250,000 different families, at the close of the war in 1815 that land was concentrated in the hands of only 32,000 proprietors;

so that, in fact, *since* 1770 *the numbers of the freeholds have been diminishing at a much greater ratio than that at which the numbers of the population have been at the same time increasing.*'*

This is a matter of gravest import. Everywhere the old peasant proprietors are dying out. The evil which Goldsmith lamented is fast being consummated. Even in Cumberland the '*statesmen*' have scarcely outlived Wordsworth, who sung their virtues; while elsewhere the good yeoman, 'the gentleman in ore,' whom Fuller hoped 'the next age might see refined,' is well-nigh extinct.

'The labourer's hope of rising in the world,' says the Rev. Henry Worsley, 'is indeed a forlorn one. There is no graduated ascent up which the hardy aspirant may toil, step by step, with patient drudgery. Several rounds in the social ladder are broken away and gone. A farm of some hundred acres, requiring for their due cultivation a large capital, would be a day-dream too gaudy ever to mix itself with the visions of the most ambitious labourer, earning, on an average, probably less than 9*s.* a week. The agricultural workman's horizon is bounded by the high red-brick walls of the union-house; his virtual marriage-settlement can only point to such a refuge if troubles arise; his old age may there have to seek its last shelter.'†

'Once a peasant, always a peasant,' is in England an absolute rule. Without hope of change, the labourer plods on his weary way from year to year; and while yet at the age when hope should be highest, he has learnt by sad experience that if he were to remain single, and scrupulously save up a quarter of his wages, he might, by the time that he was a century old, think of 'settling down,' by taking a wife and a very moderately-sized farm. Finding that he can never materially improve his condition, he sees no motive for self-denial or providence. He marries full ten years earlier than the professional man,—becomes the father of a numerous family, dirty, squalid, ill-fed, ill-taught, or, in the vigorous language of poor-law guardians, a '*pauper-warren.*' Those who have honestly considered the matter cannot but see that in countries where the peasantry are the owners of the land which they cultivate, there is no such misery as this. An Englishman, travelling through the fertile plains of Flanders, cannot but blush for his own country. Traversing the Pays de Waes, once a barren sand, now the most productive, and well-nigh the most populous district in Europe, he bethinks himself of his own beautiful Devonshire, endowed by nature with every gift and grace, but which man has made the abode of every kind of moral evil and physical wretchedness.

A most difficult political problem is here suggested. We cannot solve it. The time may come when the principle which regulated the ownership of real property at the time spoken of by Mr. Froude in the splendid introductory chapter to his History of

* 'Social Condition of the People,' vol. i. p. 370.

† 'Essay on Juvenile Depravity,' p. 53.

England,—

England,—a principle, moreover, which has been reaffirmed of late years in the construction of railways—that private rights should give way to public good—may be made the basis of very stringent laws that shall materially alter our national constitution. But we will not strive to forecast the future. There is enough in the present to engage our thoughts.

Let us direct our attention to a few circumstances connected with the condition of the agricultural labourer, wherein *immediate* good may be effected.

These circumstances are connected with the *dwelling*, the *wages*, the *education and recreation* of the labourer.

The first of these topics has been of late years very fully discussed. The Royal Agricultural, the Highland, the Bath and West of England, and other Societies, have devoted a considerable portion of their respective journals to suggestions for improving cottages. Health and morality are the two points to which attention has been chiefly directed. The former is to be secured by proper ventilation and drainage; the latter, by the provision of sufficient sleeping accommodation. No cottage, it is said, should be built with less than three bedrooms, except one here and there, for the sake of childless or aged couples. Many existing dwellings comprise but two rooms altogether—the lower, or living room, and the upper room, in which the parents, children of both sexes, and not unfrequently one or two lodgers, are herded together. The awful amount of immorality that results from this circumstance may easily be imagined. The tongue will fail to tell it. Of what avail is it to teach the young to be virtuous and sober, when each night unteaches the lesson which they have learnt in the day? Chastity and modesty are virtues totally unintelligible to many of our rural poor. They scarcely recognise as failings sins which were 'not so much as named' among the Gentiles in the time when St. Paul rebuked the Corinthian church. Education, like charity, must begin at home.

Some of our readers may have lying on their drawing-room tables a very elegantly-bound and choicely-illustrated book, entitled 'Selections from the Poets in praise of Country Life.' In turning the decorated pages, we are almost compelled to think that Plato did right in banishing the poets from his 'Republic.' From them we should never learn what is the true meaning of the words 'country life.' One of them, writing two hundred years ago, exclaims—

> 'O happy country life! free like its air;
> Free from the rage of pride, the pangs of care;
> Here happy souls lie bathed in soft content,
> And are at once secure and innocent.'*

* Sir George Mackenzie, Lord-Advocate of Scotland under Charles II. and James II.

The

The artist takes out his pencil, and transfers to his sketch-book yonder thatched cottage that stands so picturesquely in the valley. He heeds not the broken roof through which the rain falls and the chill winds blow. He does not know, perhaps, that his favourite thatch is all rotten and decomposed, the constant manufactory of fever. He does not attempt to sketch the interior. For that we must turn to another and very different sort of draftsman. The Hon. and Rev. S. G. Osborne thus describes a cottage which he saw in Devonshire, the garden of England :—

'In one compartment of the building were dwelling a man, his wife, and five children; five of them had the fever: the man died of it. With some difficulty we ascended to the bedroom of this cottage. No one by pen can describe it. You get into it by a sort of ladder. When in it, you find it impossible to stand upright anywhere but in the direct centre, for the roof slopes down to the floor at an acute angle. The beds are so placed as to make the bases of so many triangles, of which the sides of the roof are the lateral lines. You must cross the first to get at the second; the second, to reach to the third. The floor is as rotten as possible, full of holes, through one of which the husband's leg had gone on one occasion. I ventured to ask how they got a corpse out of such a place. I found "*they had him downstairs to die;*" there he was seven weeks, and then they took him dead to the churchyard.'*

The homes of our agricultural population are not less deficient in external accommodation. No dwelling should be without some portion of ground attached to it. By the 7th of 31st Elizabeth, it was enacted that no cottage should be built without *four acres* being laid to it, which should be for the sole use of the occupants of such cottage. All dwellings failing in this respect were called '*silly cottages.*' In the 21st year of Queen Victoria it is scarcely considered safe for the labourer to be allowed to rent *one-quarter* of an acre!

And yet the garden is a useful school of industry. There the labourers' children receive their first lessons in that which is to be the business of their lives. The farmer also profits by it, since it enables the lad to serve an apprenticeship in many agricultural operations before he is taken on at the farm.

The allotment-ground should be merely a temporary expedient to supply the lack of gardens where dwellings have been erected without them. It is of great importance, in so changeable a climate as ours, that the scene of work should be close at home.

As a favourable contrast to Mr. Osborne's gloomy picture, may be mentioned the cottages which have lately been erected in Dorset by Mr. Sturt, of Critchell.

We are told that 'he rebuilt the village of Lincleston, placing two cottages, with three bedrooms in each, on an acre of land, dividing it equally between the two tenants, neither of whom trespasses on the land of his neighbour. The cottages have a south aspect, and are protected from the north wind by a row of apple-trees in the rear. Mr. Sturt's property is scattered over the country, but his cottages are easily recognised by their comfortable and uniform appearance. The

* *Kay:* 'Social Condition of the People,' vol. i. p. 513.

results

results are, that in the villages thus favoured there is not now a single poacher, and that the labourers residing in these improved dwellings take a pride in the cultivation of the land, and carry off the best prizes for vegetables from the Labourers' Friend Society. . . . It is admitted that the labourer cannot afford to pay fair interest on this outlay, but Mr. Sturt affirms that the property generally is increased in value by increasing the comforts of the cultivators.'*

Were all landowners like Mr. Sturt, the labourer would have little cause to complain. Unfortunately, his complaints are only too well-grounded, for the landowners, in many cases, not only have failed to provide suitable accommodation for their servants, but have even pulled down the miserable dwellings which did exist. The following facts are only a few out of the 'countless woes' of which our Poor Law has been the spring. In the neighbourhood of Norwich, a few years since, the destruction of cottage property was disgraceful in the extreme. It was impossible to obtain a piece of ground for building purposes in any of the villages within eight or ten miles of that city. Many of the estates had been entirely cleared of tenantry. To such an extent had the system been carried on, that there were in Norwich not less than 500 agricultural labourers who had to walk to their work distances varying from three to seven miles. Again, it has been stated that in five villages in Buckinghamshire, between the years 1801 and 1831, the number of families was increased by 129, while the dwellings were diminished by 41. In seven villages of Suffolk the increase of families was 248, the decrease of residences 124; while in five villages of Sussex the increase was 62, the decrease 59! This selfishness which, while adding field to field by no means adds house to house, is like all other forms of selfishness, short-sighted and self-defeating. Notwithstanding that we have succeeded very tolerably in reducing the condition of the labourer to that of a machine, we have not yet discovered any contrivance by which we can obtain an unlimited amount of work from him. So much work, and no more, is to be got out of any one set of sinews and muscles. If a portion of this working power is expended in the act of walking from six to twelve miles a day, so much less power remains for ploughing, hoeing, carting, or reaping. The farmer will soon find his poor's rate repaid by the improved quantity and quality of the work done by labourers who live close at hand, instead of two hours' journey off.

The second topic affecting the condition of the agricultural labourer, which we have to consider, is that of *Wages*.

Let it be stated, at the outset, that we do not intend to enter upon the very difficult question of the rate of wages. It seems as if the amount paid must be regulated by the law of supply and demand. To the labourer earning seven shillings a week, the

* 'Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society for 1854.'

most

most ardent philanthropist can offer no other advice than to emigrate. 'You cannot,' he will say, 'obtain anything approaching to a livelihood in your own country; here you have no chance of getting a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. It is very sad that this should be so. There is no help for it, however. So long as your employer can get your services at the present low rate, so long will he refuse to give you higher pay. There is not room enough for you here. You must seek another country. You can pass from a land of want to a land of plenty at an almost nominal expense. If you go, it will be better for yourself and better for those who remain behind.'*

The remarks that we have to make will be confined to the *kind*, rather than the amount of payment.

In some counties, chiefly in the western district of England, it is usual for the farmer to pay his men a portion of their wages in cider. This portion varies from a tenth to a fifth of the whole amount paid. After an extended inquiry, made chiefly in the counties of Somerset, Devon, Cornwall, Dorset, Wilts, Hereford, and Monmouth, we find that this practice is condemned by almost every one who has not a direct interest in maintaining it. At the present time, the subject is obtaining a great share of public attention, and in the county of Hereford, especially, the 'cider truck' system has been most warmly discussed.

Now it does appear, at first sight, unjust to the labourer that he should be compelled to take 20 per cent. of his earnings in an article of food, which, viewed any way, cannot be deemed very nutritious. And when we further find, upon careful chemical analysis, that the amount of nourishment contained in cider is so small as to render it necessary to imbibe thirty-two gallons of that liquid before the system has received nourishment equal to that afforded by one pound of wheaten bread, we may well protest, in the name of the workman, against so thriftless and extravagant an arrangement.

Nor is this all. It has been found that the appetite for intoxicating liquors thus excited, grows by what it feeds on. At harvest seasons, especially, the quantity of cider drunk is incredible. From hence arise numerous quarrels, during which the work is stopped, and the farmer not unfrequently fails to get his crops housed in good condition by reason of the brawling or the intoxication of his men.

Enormous as is the ordinary supply of this beverage, the labourer is by no means content with what is furnished him during his daily work. In the evening he will resort to the

* Able-bodied farm-labourers may emigrate to Melbourne at the cost to themselves of 1*l.*

'cider-shop,'

'cider-shop,' and there spend, perhaps, another fifth of his wages. The consequences are disastrous in the extreme. Not only does the man himself suffer from intemperance, but his wife and children suffer from poverty. Health, comfort, domestic happiness are all sacrificed, recklessly squandered, that the appetite for drink may be satisfied.

Again and again have the moralist and the philanthropist pointed the moral so easily drawn from these sad facts. But it seems, alas! as though the effect were weakened by each repetition. The man of science has added his voice of warning. We have been told, on the highest authority, that, upon analysis, cider is found to be perfectly useless for all purposes of nutrition. And medical evidence is not wanting to affirm that the failure of the apple-crop is a real blessing to the labourer; *that the effect of such scarcity has produced the same favourable effects upon his health, as the good drainage of a parish has produced upon the health of the inhabitants* GENERALLY.

It would be difficult, we presume, to extend the operation of the Act against the truck system to the agricultural districts. We can, then, but urge upon the owners and occupiers of land the great importance of this subject. We can but exhort them as Christians, who are bound to give to their labourers that which is lawful and right, to set themselves resolutely against any system which tends to debase the workman, or impoverish his family.

We now pass to the last of the three questions which we have undertaken to consider. We have no wish to embark upon the troubled waters of educational politics; and thus our remarks will be brief. It has been proved over and over again that ignorance is the main source of crime. Were there no other evidence, the facts and figures collected by Mr. Joseph Bentley with such disinterested industry* would prove this fact.

The chief point then to be discussed, is the kind of education that should be given.

Mere teaching by rote should be sedulously avoided. All such is but lost labour, as many a school-inspector can testify. Imparting information is but one, and that the least important office of the teacher. It is in mental discipline that his art truly consists. In course of years the man will forget many of the facts which he learnt as a boy. But he has not been truly educated if his capacity for receiving and using knowledge should fail. It would be well if our rural schools bore a closer relation to the farm than at present exists. As it is, the boy begins to unlearn the moment that he quits the form and desk for the plough. This would not be so had be been instructed in such matters as mechanics, the

* See his very valuable work, 'Education as it is, ought to be, and might be.'

rudiments

rudiments of agricultural chemistry, the laws that regulate health, to say nothing of general lessons in the first principles of political economy, and the laws that regulate wages.* These and similar subjects will be of far greater interest and infinitely more use to him than crude bald facts about the 'four elements,' or the sun, moon, and stars. Where it is practicable, an adult evening school should exist no less than the ordinary children's school. Education and work, theory and practice, might then go hand in hand.

But if education be a hard subject, recreation is far more difficult. The old sports of 'Merrie England' have died out with the race of yeomen who maintained them. At the present time, sad to say, the beer-shop, or the cider-shop, is the only playground offered to our agricultural labourers. The bright fire, the sanded room, the companionship of his equals, are sources of attraction to most too great to be overcome by mere scolding and lecturing. We may, if we please, establish rival coffee-rooms on the plan proposed by Mr. Osborne. We shall be rejoiced to hear that any such have answered. We are disposed to think that we shall find it policy to learn wisdom from our ancestors, and at least endeavour to re-establish some of those healthful, mirthful, innocent games, which once graced our village greens.

From want of some such amusements, our peasantry have become proverbially uncouth and awkward. The 'Times' newspaper of June 14th, 1856, describing the Paris Agricultural Exhibition, remarks:—

'In that brilliant assembly, with the representatives of all the nations of Europe looking on, we grieve to say it, that the English labourer was the poorest-looking man among them all. The easy and independent look and bearing, and the picturesque dress of the Spanish peasant, the Hungarian shepherd, and the Swiss herdsman, contrasted painfully with the bent and slouching gait and slovenly fustian dress of the English cattle-man. . . . And thus, while England sends out the finest cattle and pigs, the smoothest-coated horses, the fleeciest sheep, she sends out, also, the most awkward and unpromising labourer.'

A humiliating assertion, this; yet, it must be confessed, the accusation is a true one. We think that we have partly shown how we may remove this reproach. In many things we must alter. In most things we must go back to the good old times when, as the historian tells us, every man 'had his definite place and duty assigned to him, and no human being was at liberty to lead at his own pleasure an unaccountable existence,—when the discipline of an army was transformed to the details of social life, which issued in a chivalrous perception of the meaning of the word duty, and in the old characteristic spirit of English loyalty.' —(*Froude, History of England*, vol. i. p. 13.)

* 'Lessons on the Pheuomena of Industrial Life,' edited by the Dean of Hereford, is admirably suited for the more advanced pupils of our agricultural population.

ART. II.—1. *Norway and its Glaciers, visited in* 1851. By James D. Forbes, D.C.L., F.R.S., &c., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1853.

2. *Forest Scenes in Norway and Sweden: being Extracts from the Journal of a Fisherman.* By the Rev. Henry Newland, Rector and Vicar of Westbourne. London: Routledge and Co. 1854.

3. *The Oxonian in Norway; or Notes of Excursions in that Country in* 1854-55. By the Rev. Frederick Metcalfe, M.A., Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. 2 vols. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1856.

4. *A Long Vacation Ramble in Norway and Sweden.* By X. and Y. (two unknown quantities). Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1857.

5. *Unprotected Females in Norway; or the Pleasantest Mode of travelling there.* With Scandinavian Sketches from Nature. London: Routledge and Co. 1857.

6. *The Norse-Folk; or a Visit to the Homes of Norway and Sweden.* By Charles Loring Brace, Author of 'Hungary in 1851,' and 'Home Life in Germany.' London: Bentley. 1858.

7. *The Oxonian in Thellemarken; or Notes of Travel in South-Western Norway in the Summers of* 1856-57. By the Rev. Frederick Metcalfe, M.A. 2 vols. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1858.

NORWAY is becoming quite a favourite resort for tourists. Nor is this at all surprising. Linked as it is to this land by means of the Northmen, or Normans, whose influence contributed so much to develop that spirit of enterprise and nautical power characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race, it must ever be interesting to Englishmen to visit the homes of their Viking ancestors, and to study the land that gave birth to the kings of the sea. The physical structure of Norway is peculiar, and replete with scenes of rugged grandeur and romance. There sea and mountain embrace each other, the massive shoulders of the latter rising abruptly from their ocean-bed; while the arms of the former stretch far around the bosom of the everlasting hills. In the Hardanger Fjord the mountains rise almost perpendicularly on either side to a height of three or five thousand feet, hiding the solar rays from the crater below, and giving a gloomy, almost horrific aspect to the scene. The waters rush through this rock-cleft for nearly one hundred miles, stretching out branches on every side. The whole western coast is crowded with similar scenes, while numerous rocky islands front the

the dark entrance of the fjords. The interior of the country is an endless chain of mountains, many of which are covered with magnificent forests, and between them are romantic glens and fertile vales. Numerous rivers rush from precipitous mountains, now roaring in grand cascades, and now flowing placidly through a valley. Lakes, large and small, abound; one of them, Miosen, four hundred feet above the level of the sea, is 60 miles long by 18 miles broad at the centre, and contains an island of 10 miles in circumference; others are surrounded by forests of pine, and dotted over with floating islands. Then towards the north there is the Maelström—a terror to seamen, and the region of nightless day and dayless night—where 'the ruggedness of the dark-gray rock is not covered by a single shrub. The only music is the hoarse murmurings of the waves, ever and anon renewing their assaults on the huge masses that oppose them. The northern sun, creeping at midnight, at the distance of five diameters along the horizon, and the immeasurable ocean in apparent contact with the skies, form the grand outlines of the sublime picture presented to the astonished spectator.'*

Few countries afford so many attractions to the sportsman as Norway. It bears the palm for salmon and trout, and delights the soul of the angler. There is no tax on the stream, and no restraint to piscatorial pleasure. Its seas, lakes, and rivers swarm with fish, and afford some of its most profitable articles of commerce. Though there are extensive tracts unpeopled by feathered tribes, yet there is abundant range for the gun in bagging capercailzie, ptarmigan, woodcock, snipe, blackcock, or eider-duck. Nimrod could here have an occasional bear-hunt, or stalk rein-deer on the fjelds.

The naturalist can find studies in all parts of the world; but Norway presents features unusually met with. Its forests and mountains are not soon exhausted by the diligence of the student of nature. Its flora is extensive for a latitude so northern. And where vegetation ceases, the snow line and the glaciers afford new fields of inquiry.

Norway is situated in the temperate zone, with the exception of one-third, which extends within the polar circle. But surrounded so largely by the sea, and getting a special benefit from the Gulf Stream, it is not so cold as other places in the same latitude. Spring or autumn are scarcely known as seasons. Summer succeeds winter, and winter comes hard on summer. Within a week nature dismantles herself of her snowy robe, and puts on a verdant garb. Of course, the early vegetation assumes a weaker aspect—a more tender expression—and makes a deeper impression on the

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* Acerbi.

traveller's

traveller's eye. There is a striking contrast between the rude and the gentle, the lively and the torpid, the painful and the pleasing, which, as described most poetically by Geijer, 'seem to draw the compassionate attention of man to nature, and to create a closer relation to it and to its mysteries.' This is manifest, as we may have occasion to explain, in all the Scandinavian mythology—itself a fascinating study, and calculated to throw much light on our own customs and history.

Norway has had fewer political changes than any other continental country, and still retains a primitive simplicity. Feudalism seems never to have prevailed. The Norwegians were never conquered. Canute, king of Denmark, is said to have done so in 1128, but he did not retain it long. They have been trained up in a liberty free as the air they breathe. A democratic spirit has governed them. There has never been a powerful aristocracy among them. By a peculiar law the land is divided among an immense number of peasant proprietors who cultivate their own farms. It is a land of equality. Though seldom governed by its own king, it has maintained its own constitution. In 1376, the four hundredth year of its independent monarchy, it gave a king to Denmark, to which crown it was united for upwards of four hundred years. In 1814 it was arbitrarily given up to Sweden; but throughout the whole period of its history it has maintained its national independence and self-government. The Viking-spirit still breathes in the democratic Norwegians.

From what we have thus cursorily referred to, Norway must be a country likely to repay the traveller. Judging from the number of works which have been published since the appearance of Laing's 'Residence in Norway,' which directed attention to it twenty years ago, there must have been a regular stream of English tourists every summer in the fjords and fjelds. To some of the recent travels in Norway we now propose to introduce the reader, and to present him with such notes from them as may induce him to visit higher latitudes, or afford him some pleasure even should he remain at home. Having gone back only for five years in the history of publication, we have been surprised at the number of volumes of travel which have been issued from the press on this subject. We have works detailing the science, the sports, the social aspects, and the scenes of Norway, from which, did space permit, we could glean much to instruct and amuse the reader.*

Railways are being introduced into Scandinavia; but the commonest mode of travel is by carriole, a small vehicle which is thus described by X and Y, the unknown quantities—

* We can only name several recent works more or less descriptive of Norway—all of them interesting. These include Jerrold's, Bunbury's, Bayard Taylor's, the 'Yacht Voyage to Hardanger Fjord,' Lord Dufferin's 'High Latitudes.'

'Your

'Your true Norwegian vehicle is like a deep spoon placed on wheels, with very long shafts. The solitary traveller sits in the bowl thereof, on a low seat, raised so little above the bottom of the carriage that his legs are nearly horizontal. There is a splash-board in front, and an apron to button over you, with a wide flap, which completely covers the seat when you get out, and keeps it dry. The long shafts form an admirable substitute for springs. Behind, there is a board on which your luggage is strapped: it serves also as a seat for the *skyd skarl*, or boy, who is sent along with you from station to station to bring back the horses.' 'We saw some carrioles in Christiania to carry two persons—a useful improvement this, as the only disadvantage of the vehicle is that it is sadly unsociable. Every word you utter has to be committed at the top of your voice to the mercy of the fickle winds, and reaches the ears for which it is intended, if it ever does reach them, in a fearfully-garbled state.'

The horses go at an astounding rate on the rough roads, and the traveller sometimes gets squeamish as he is rattled down a steep hill at full speed. But he gets accustomed to it. The posting arrangements are very admirable, and are fixed by rules, a copy of which every traveller may possess. The farmers supply horses in turn, and are obliged to be ready within a certain time. The expense is trifling, being at the most rapid rate only equal to $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ per English mile. 'Norsk miles,' says the Oxonian, 'are equal to seven English; it is well they are, or, as Paddy would reason, you would never get over the ground.' Inns are rare; but a traveller can be accommodated at certain stations, where, with the flad-brod and the lappered milk used as food, and a not overclean bed, he can get his wants cheaply supplied.

As the country abounds with lakes and *fjords*, or arms of the sea, boats serve the tourist at frequent intervals; and as the carriole can be taken to pieces, and is generally the property of the traveller, it is always taken on board.

Professor FORBES undertook a Norwegian tour for scientific purposes, including the observation of the eclipse of the sun, in 1851. He left England and proceeded to Christiania by the usual route. He then crossed to Drontheim in a carriole, ascending the Dovre-fjeld by the way that he might examine the glaciers on Sneehätten. He then embarked on board the 'Prinds Gustav,' a steamer which sails in the summer season around the north coast. As time afforded he landed at certain intervals to make observations, and from the deck of the vessel took many sketches, which he has published in his beautiful and valuable volume for the benefit of his readers. Instead of proceeding all the course of the steamer, he landed at the Kaa-fjord, in Alten, that he might have leisure for pursuing his object. Though mainly occupied with scientific studies, the Professor was not devoid of interest in other matters brought before the traveller. He has given us valuable notes on the cod-fishery at the Loffoden Islands, and a sketch of the Lapps and Quaens who inhabit Finmarken. Along the coast there are stationed, during the inclement months of February and March, some 3,000 boats and 16,000 fishermen, who

who in the season catch 3,000,000 cod-fish. These fish are 'dried without salt in the sun and wind, a process peculiar to the climate of Nordland and Finmarken.' He was surprised to find the Lapps so well educated and so religious. In every hut he observed a Finnish Bible and a Commentary, both quarto volumes. Drunkenness, formerly so common a vice among them, he learned, was diminishing by means of the revival of religion, which, under Lestadius, a devoted missionary, and his successors, had been productive of much good. It may interest some of our fair readers to learn how a Lapp mother arranges her child for the night. Professor Forbes thus describes it:—

'The characteristic composure of the people was well shown in a young mother, with rather pleasing features, who brought her infant of four months old out of one of the huts, and seating herself on the sunny side of it, proceeded in the most deliberate way to *pack up* the child for the night in its little wooden cradle, whilst half-a-dozen of us looked on with no small curiosity. The cradle was cut out of the solid, and covered with leather, flaps of which were so arranged as to lace across the top with leathern thongs. The inside and little pillow were rendered tolerably soft with reindeer moss, and the infant fitted the space so exactly that it could stir neither hand nor foot, yet made little resistance to the operation. A hood protected the head, whilst it admitted air freely. When the packing was finished the little creature was fast asleep.'

Professor Forbes accompanied the steamer from the North to Bergen, the place he had selected for observing the total eclipse of the sun. It was an unfortunate position, Bergen being the most rainy town in Norway. Good fortune did not attend him. Had he proceeded 30 or 40 English miles farther inland, science would have reaped more from his observation. It was, however, too late to change, as arrangements had been made for him by the *savans* and authorities of the town. He mentions that the darkness was so great during the total phase that it was 'impossible to read a portion of rather small English newspaper type.'

Professor Forbes left Bergen the day after the eclipse to visit the glaciers in the vicinity of the Hardanger Fjord. Rain impeded his work; but he reached the Glacier of Bondhuus, and ascended the Folge-fond. He then sailed up the Sogne-fjord to reach Fjaerland and Justedal. He traversed the ice of the latter, made some observations with his aneroid barometer, and took sketches of the Nygaard Glacier. After spending twelve days on the western fjords, he crossed the Fille-feld to Christiania, and returned by Copenhagen to England.

The chief value of the Professor's volume consists in the important contribution which it makes to the physical geography of Norway, hitherto in a most unsatisfactory state. This science, now rising in estimation, can afford the only correct description of a country. Much error had been long perpetuated in our maps of this portion of Europe, owing to their being constructed according to

to the river courses, and not according to the orography accurately ascertained. The Norwegian mountains do not form ridges, nor are they distinct elevations; but extensive plateaux, separated by deep narrow valleys. This has given rise to the name by which they are designated—*fjelds.*

Physically, Norway may be divided into two parts, according to Professor Forbes—the narrow district from Drontheim to the North Cape, where the mountains cling to the coast; and the more extended district from Drontheim to the Naes, in which the high ground occupies the greater part of the breadth of the country. The coast bears marks of great violence in some former epoch when it was cut up into those bold rocks which stud all the west, and defend Northern Europe from the Atlantic. The climate of the country is not so inclement as some have imagined. Bishop Pontopiddan, who was the natural historian of a bygone age, cites the amusing mistake of our English Bishop Patrick, who describes a Norwegian as imagining a rose-bush to be a *tree on fire*, whereas roses are common flowers in many parts of Norway. He further adds, that 'the harbour of Bergen is not oftener frozen than the Seine at Paris, that is, two or three times in a century, whilst the harbours of Lubeck and Copenhagen are blockaded with ice.' Drift ice is unknown on the Norwegian coast. The Gulf Stream in the Atlantic, already referred to, pours in such a flood of heat as to moderate the winter, and give an average climate superior to any continental country in the same latitude. There is considerable variety between the west and the east, yet, at Alten (in lat. 70°), the Scotch fir attains a height of 780 English feet above the sea, and the birch of 1,500 feet.

The remarks of Professor Forbes on the snow-fields are important to men of science; but we will only give a few of them, lest we burden our readers. It is a singular fact, that 'nowhere in the northern hemisphere does the snow-line attain the level of the sea.' This is accounted for by the intensity of summer heat during the perpetual day. On the Folge-fond, in the Hardanger country, a hill only 4,700 feet high is covered with perpetual snow. On the western side the snow begins at 3,800 or 3,900 feet. On Sulitelma it begins at 3,840 feet, and at Alten at 3,480. Between 60° and 62° on the coast, the snow-line is at 4,300 feet. In the same latitude towards the centre, 5,300 feet; in latitude 67° in the interior it falls to 3,500 feet. Vegetation is influenced by the snow-line, and, according to Von Buch, one of the most scientific German travellers in Norway, 'the planes of the vegetation of the pine and birch run nearly parallel to the plane of perpetual snow.' The following table records the observations made by him at Alten in latitude 70°:—

The pine (*Pinus sylvestris*) . . .	ceases at	780	English feet.
The birch (*Betula alba*)	,,	1,580	,,
Bilberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus*) . .	,,	2,030	,,
Mountain willow (*Salix mirsinites*) .	,,	2,150	,,
Dwarf birch (*Betula nana*) . . .	,,	2,740	,,
The snow-line	,,	3,480	,,

Professor Forbes points out, 'as the result of the comparison of the configuration of the country, with the position of the snow-line, that though the surface actually covered by perpetual snow in Norway be small, yet the mountainous districts and table-lands everywhere approach it so nearly, that the snow-plane may be said to *hover* over the peninsula; and any cause which should lower it, even a little, would plunge a great part of the country under a mantle of frost. Nay, so nice is the adjustment, that even the convexity of the rocky contour has its counterpart in the fall of the snow-line near the coast, and in its general depression towards the north.' Thus a beneficent Providence is manifest in the preservation of Norway for its people.

The glaciers of Norway had not been fully enumerated by any scientific traveller until Professor Forbes attempted it in 1851. Wahlenberg and Von Buch had drawn attention to the subject, but gave meagre accounts of any. Naumann and Durscher, Keilhau and Munch have afforded considerable information; but Professor Forbes has earned the gratitude of the scientific world for his elaborate work, for his notes on the comparison between Norwegian and Swiss glaciers, and for suggesting the observations yet to be made by men of science for fully elucidating the subject.

The Rev. HENRY NEWLAND is devoted to the rod, and like sportsmen who love adventure and abundance of game, he has tried the Scandinavian waters, where the best salmon-fishing is to be found. In his 'Extracts from the Journal of a Fisherman,' so much fiction is mixed up with fact, that it is difficult to identify places, or attach responsibilities. He does not wish to be judged by the loose conversations and unclerical scenes depicted in this work, and hopes that the public will 'look at the parson at home as well as the parson abroad,—in short,' he says, 'to read my "Confirmation and First Communion," as well as my "Forest Life."' The truth is, that throughout the whole of this volume, though the word *parson* is introduced in every page, it would be difficult to attribute the book to any clergyman's pen. It is so full of fun, rather free speech and convivial scenes, as well as sporting talk of the first water, that one would rather believe the captain than the parson to have composed it. We sincerely hope that he is as earnest and as successful with the gospel as with the fly, and skilled in the art of man-fishing.* This book takes the

* Perhaps some piscatorial parsons will thank us for commending to their notice 'A Soliloquy on the Art of Man-fishing,' by the well-known *Rev. Thomas Boston*, author of 'The Fourfold State.'

form of conversation between a captain and a parson, 'who are not to be considered actual characters,' 'but merely pegs on which the author hangs his personal experiences.' A Lieut. Birger,—an intelligent Swede, and other Northerns, are also made to figure in the narrative. The sketches of sporting on lake and river are very lively and dashing. Along with his *compagnons de voyage* the parson enters with great zest into the sport, and can throw his fly and haul his fish with the best of them. He has no fear of water, and can encounter dangers for the sake of his fish amidst the rapids and rocks. He is quite at home in all places, and, provided his favourite sport can be enjoyed, is regardless of accidents. The following may serve as a specimen of the book—its style and theme. It describes a vexation of the parson caused by the timber floating down Norwegian rivers:—

'"Hallo! what is the matter now?" said the captain, who had been out with his gun that morning, and on his return caught sight of the parson sitting disconsolate on the river's bank. By the waters of Torjedahl we sat down and wept! "What has gone wrong?"

'"Why, everything has gone wrong," said the parson, peevishly; "look at my line."

'"You do seem to have lost your casting-line, certainly."

'"Yes, I have, and half my reel-line beside."

'"Very tinkerish, I dare say; but do not grieve over it. Put on a new one, and hold your tongue about it. No one saw you, and I promise not to tell."

'"How can you be so absurd?" said the parson. "Look at the river, and tell me how we are to fish that. Just look at those baulks of timber floating all over it. I had on as fine a fish as ever I saw in my life—five-and-twenty pounds, if he was an ounce—when down came these logs, and one of them takes my reel-line, with sixty yards out, and cuts it right in the middle."

'"Well, that is provoking," said the captain; "enough to make a saint swear, let alone a parson. But hang it, man, it is only once in the way; come along, do not look behind you; I am in a hurry to be at it myself; I came home on purpose. I was ashamed to waste so glorious a fishing-day as this in the fjeld!"

'"That is just the thing that annoys me," said the parson; "it as, as you say, a most lovely fishing-day—I never saw a more promising one; and I have just heard that these logs will take three days floating by at the very least; and while they are in the river, I defy the best fisherman in all England to land anything bigger than a groul."

'"Why?" said the captain, "have the scoundrels been cutting a whole forest?"

'"This is what Torkel tells me," said the parson. "He says that in the winter they cut their confounded firs, and when the snow is on the ground they just square them, haul them down to the river or its tributaries, where they leave them to take care of themselves, and when the ice melts in the spring down come the trees with it."'

It must be confessed that this is not very nice language for a parson, and the book is generally of the same kind. There are, however, very good notes on angling, boating, and shooting. Our author condescends, on one occasion, to refer to ecclesiastical matters, and gives a very fair *resumé* of the state of the Norwegian church. He has a poor idea of it, and scarcely thinks it worthy of any more sacred name than that of an establishment. He was struck with the reverence which the people paid to religious ordinances, and with the small effect which religion had upon

upon their lives. 'A man,' he says, 'would lose character at once, and would be shunned by his acquaintance as a hopeless reprobate, if he neglected confirmation or the Lord's supper. Nothing, indeed, is more common than to see an advertisement, "Wanted a confirmed cook or housemaid," which advertisement in no ways relates to the capacities of the servant, but simply to her age, it being taken for granted that a person of a certain age must have been confirmed.' Throughout Norway confirmation and communion are necessary to the holding of public offices. But the Christian knowledge of the people is not proportionate to their reverence. Owing to the enormous size of the parishes, they cannot receive much instruction. 'No man can teach over fifty miles of country.' The Norwegian church is very Erastian, being dominated over by the Storthing.

The *Oxonian* must be included in the ranks under which Sydney Smith waggishly classed the clergy of the English church in his day, when he described them as 'Nimrods, Ramrods, or Fishing-rods.' Mr. Metcalfe to be the fellow of a college, and occupied with literary pursuits, is a singular adept in adventure over fjeld and fjord. He has spent several summers in Scandinavia, and has a pleasure in wild scenery, and in roughing life on the simplest fare, that he may catch splendid fish and have nothing to pay for the sport. He has not only enjoyed the excitement and bracing for himself, but by his lively and engaging volumes has gratified many readers, and, we have no doubt, created a desire in some, who have leisure and money, to devote a portion of both to explore the scenery of that grand and attractive country.

Besides describing his fishing quarters and the glorious success that crowned his labours, he gives many very interesting notes upon the country and the people. He lived much among the bonders, and was a frequent guest of the priests. He penetrated into districts where Englishmen were little known, and where he was regarded as a doctor, a lord, or some other notable person. He generally found the best fishing-places, and caused the death of many a noble salmon. The use of the fly was introduced into Norway by such as he; and in his early adventures, the wonderment of the natives was great, as they saw him hook fish after fish in his splendid style. When tired of the rod, he took to the gun, and chased the deer over the precipitous rocks and ice-fields.

The Norwegians have very little of the sportsman. 'When they shoot it is for the pot.' They never think of shooting a bird flying. They steal at pairing time, or snare ptarmigans when they approach the sea; but they never give the poor things a chance for their lives. Englishmen, however, have taken the sport out of their hands, and have taught the slow Norwegians some useful lessons. The Oxonian has done his part in this.

Sharing much in the hospitality of the people, he had ample opportunities of observing their customs. Their politeness always strikes a stranger. 'Dinner over,' which is waited upon by the mistress of the house, 'every one seizes his or her chair, and places it against the wall with the utmost rapidity. You then rush forward to the hostess, and say, "*Tak for mad*" (Thanks for the meal), and then everybody says to everybody else, "*Vel bekomme*," (May it do you good).' Their politeness is sometimes very embarrassing to a stranger. In some farm-houses it is considered a mark of politeness for the family to stay in the best room, set apart for strangers, until their guests turn in to bed!

Mr. Metcalfe considers both the morality and the religion of Norway to be improving. To the removal of incentives to drink he attributes much of this. He says that 'a sort of Maine liquor law has come into operation in Norway. Private stills are forbidden, and spirits are only allowed to be sold in towns.' There is besides a Sunday law, which prevents any one from selling spirits from five o'clock on Saturday evening till nine o'clock on Monday morning. There is a fine for each offence—first five dollars, then twenty. The beer of the country is not included in this law.

Mr. Metcalfe sometimes felt inconvenience for want of a drop of brandy, not being able to get any to purchase at country places; but Mr. Brace, the American traveller, took none with him, and did not feel the want. The Norwegians have a custom of taking a glass of brandy before every meal, which is apt to stimulate the appetite for more, and has, doubtless, tended to make them so drunken. But it is pleasing to hear of improvement. In most of the homes of the people, all sup out of one dish. They take their food easily—as they do most of their work—resting the elbow on the table, and first dipping the spoon in the porridge, then in the milk, they convey the contents to the mouth without lifting the arm! At a marriage feast, to which he was invited, *The Oxonian* had opportunity of observing the provisions which loaded the table.

'At the top of each table was a capacious wooden vessel of bridal porridge, *i.e.* rye and barley stirabout floating in hot butter; next to this came a bowl of milk; next, a similar vessel, full of salted salmon of last year's catching; below these was a pile of flad-brod, nearly a yard in diameter; and then a castle of butter, placed on a wooden stand, an edifice of about two feet in height. Such was the fare, repeated in exactly the same order up and down the tables; there being about four editions of these dainties at each board. Although the very sight of the delicacies almost turned my stomach, I must fain dip a wooden spoon into the bridal porridge, and swallow a lump of it, and then into the milk and do likewise, after the most approved Norwegian fashion.'

Apropos of feasting, we may give an account of a dinner which our author got in a priest's house one Sunday. He had been attending service five hours long, and was quite appetised.

'A

'A very good dinner it was. Mountain mutton, quite equal to Welsh, potatoes, and lettuce. Pancakes, a regular Norwegian dish, followed. The priest apologised for any deficiency in the cookery, on the score of his lady's absence. She had gone to the "by," or town. But the only defect I could observe, which, indeed, was a radical one, was in the cellar department. Imagine an Englishman finding nothing more stimulating than milk to his dinner, after jogging for hours on a Norsk pony, through a Norsk forest; yet such was the melancholy fact; but *n'importe.*'

In the evening, Mr. Metcalfe accompanied his host to an *Opbyggelse*, where a peasant, Ole Carlem, was to preach. An *Opbyggelse* is a religious service held by the people themselves, and where some earnest man among them gives an address. Encouraged or allowed by the clergy, and intimated from the pulpit, this greatly promotes vital religion. The people crowd to the barns where it is held, and think they understand better what is spoken in an impassioned way by one of themselves than the more learned discourse of their priests. In districts where the parish is large, the peasant-preachers—the Methodists of Norway—do much good. They are generally abstainers, and, at the conclusion of their discourses, administer the pledge. These revivalists are known by the names—*Opwachte* (waked-up people), *Lesere* (readers), and *Haugianer*, after their chief leader, Hauge, who laboured in the commencement of the present century. The Oxonian, however, did not relish their puritanism, opposition to dancing and other amusements; but he seems to admire them for not dissenting from the national church.*

In the rural parts of Norway *surnames* are rare. 'With the exception of the parson, they are all plain Ole, or Eva, or Peter;' or, for greater individuality, their father's name is added, such as 'Ole Olsen, Peter Nielson,' &c. They are Jacks-of-all-trades. Every man can make his own clothing, which is spun and woven at home. Their implements of labour, boats, and oars, are all of their own manufacture.

In his second volume the *Oxonian* describes his tour to the north, and adventures among the Lapps and the troublesome mosquitoes. From the latter, despite veil and corderoys, every now and then a sharp proboscis stabbed him like a dagger. His very dogs suffered martyrdom. The Lapps, in 1847, mustered 14,464, and have among them 80,000 rein-deer.

In two additional volumes just published, Mr. Metcalfe records his experiences in the Thellemarken county during the summers of 1856-57—a new scene to him—from which he has, with his wonted skill, gleaned much to interest, amuse, and instruct his readers. In these volumes he mingles more legends with his adventures than was done in his former work; but they are as

* In his recent volumes, he hints that dissent has really commenced in Norway.

lively

lively and interesting as their predecessors. His trip in 1857 was thus occasioned. After the long vacation commenced, he was left almost alone in Oxford. Fellows and students had gone. His cupboards became the rendezvous of the famished rats and mice in the University. What was he to do? It was out of the question to think of Norway again. He must be satisfied with a short excursion into Wales or Scotland, where he might beg permission of some proprietor to throw his fly on the waters. In the midst of his reverie, a tap came to his chamber, and a youth entered with a letter of introduction, containing a humble request for information how to spend a month in Norway. Having chalked out a route for the young traveller, and dismissed him, the Norwegian itch began to trouble the Fellow of Lincoln College, and, on the third day thereafter, he stood on board the steamer *en route* for Scandinavia! On this occasion he explored 'Sætersdal, one of the wildest, poorest, and most primitive valleys of Norway.' In costume and language Mr. Metcalfe observed much in the natives to confirm the tradition that they are a Scotch colony. They are also a religious people, particularly strict in their reading, which they limit to the Bible and books of devotion. In these volumes some dark disclosures are made of the intemperate habits of the Norwegians.

X and Y are two unknown quantities, who with peculiar humility and modesty veil their names under algebraic formulæ. But they hint that they may be 'hagiographically described as the "law and the prophets." ' They were resolved to see as much of Norway as their long vacation would allow. They took the usual route to Christiania, thence by rail, carriole, boat, and steamer, over fjeld and fjord, till they reached Hammerfest, the most northern town in the world. They spent ten weeks on their tour, and, after passing through Sweden and Holland, returned to England, so well satisfied with their ramble that they have added their itinerary to the library of Norwegian travel. They had leisure to make some botanical collections up to the snow-lines, and mention that, beside the glaciers of Justedal, may be found *Salices*, *Lychnis*, *Aconitum*, *Olchemilla*, *Ranunculi*, *Euphrasia*, *Geranium*, the *Bilberry*, *Heath*, and the pretty *Pinguicola*, and. higher still, the *Ranunculus glacialis*, and some half-dozen ferns. The number of indigenous insects struck them as very large. Professor Esmark collected, by his unaided efforts, 900 species of *Lepidoptera*, and 1,400 of *Coleoptera;* and there probably exists double that number. Marine forms of life abound in the western fjords, and afford an untried and almost inexhaustible field for exploration. Among the Loffoden isles they found the sea quite alive with jelly-fish, some 'more than two feet across, others again delicate and small, of a pale silvery lustre, compared with which the

the water in which they floated seemed of the deepest blue.' In a chapter of facts connected with the history and statistics of Norway, they state that 'the qualifications of a voter are—that he be 25 years of age, the owner (for five years at least) of land paying tax, or a burgess of a town; or the owner of a house or land within the town to the value of about 35*l.*: to be elected, he must be 35 years of age.'

Mr. BRACE is an American, and like all true patriots, fond of his country. He never loses sight of his transatlantic citizenship while moving in other lands. He has already produced two volumes of continental travel, and has now added a third on the *Norse-folk*, which fully sustains his reputation. It is decidedly the best on Norway generally, in our list of recent works. It is one of the rare instances of a volume rising in price as it is being known. Mr. Brace has given a fuller view of the social life of Norway than any traveller since the days of Laing. He has an eye for the grandeur and beauties of the scenery; but he looks with as deep an interest on the condition of the people. He can enjoy the glory of the midnight sun in Lapland, but he is equally impressed with the religious light which has of late illumined the Lapps. He notes the snow-line, and the limit of vegetation on the fjelds, but marks also the state of education and religion—the position of schoolmasters and clergymen. He enters with zest into the history of the past, and feels in Norway as on a visit to the home of his forefathers. A thousand signs tell him that he is in the cradle of the race which leads modern enterprise, and 'whose Viking-power in both hemispheres has not yet ceased to be felt.' He dips also into the lore of the Sagas, and presents his readers with a glimpse of Scandinavian mythology. But he is no mere antiquarian; he has a keen interest in the political institutions of the present, and gives 'a picture of the life of to-day.'

In his travels, Mr. Brace had his wife with him, a rather uncommon thing in Norway; but we are on the eve of a change in this respect, for even 'unprotected females' from England have ventured on fjeld and fjord. While in Christiania, Mr. Brace visited the public institutions. In the asylum he learned that insanity is chiefly caused among the Norse, not by intemperance, licentiousness, love, or disappointment, but by *solitude* and its self-consuming lusts. The population being scattered over so extensive a district, where the dark mountains, and the rocky fjords, and the dense forests, are the gloomy companions of man, and where he has little of human society, many become a prey to the solitude, and lose their reason. This *silence* of nature produced one of the old Scandinavian gods—Vidar the Silent, and Son of Odin, who lived in the Boundless Land. Of him Thorpe says, 'Who has ever wandered through such forests, in a length of many

many miles, in a boundless expanse, without a path, without a goal, without being filled with their monstrous shadows, their sacred gloom, without being filled with deep reverence for the sublime greatness of nature above all human agency, without feeling the grandeur of the idea which forms the basis of Vidar's essence!' Professor Forbes also notes the absence of villages, as giving at first a dreary interminable aspect to a journey. With the exception of a part of the west coast, villages are almost unknown in Norway.

The gentry of Norway are of the middle class, and chiefly composed of the bonders, or peasant-proprietors. They have the independence of nobles with the manners of farmers. They send most of the representatives to the Storthing, or parliament. They are a class without pretence, and without much care. The bonder has no anxiety for the temporal condition of his family, for they have an equal share in his land and property. He is owner, without fear, duty, or feudal service to any superior. He has no class above him. He has no fear of want, and yet is not above the necessity of labour. There are in the country some 40,000 estates among a population of a million and a half; while Scotland, with twice the population, has not 9,000 estates.* The bonders may well be called by Mr. Brace 'the muscle and bone of Norway.'

We have already glanced at the religious condition of Norway, to which Mr. Brace also devoted particular attention. Clergymen, he thinks, have too many secular duties imposed upon them. They have to make up a census of their parishes, to act as magistrates and lawyers, and some of them are representatives of the people at the Storthing. Provision for the ministry in Norway is creditable, and on each prestgaard or glebe there is a house and land† for the widow of the clergyman. The churches are of a quaint modern architecture, and all contain ugly statues of Christ crucified, and some sacred pictures. Priests dress after the fashion of Luther, with black gown and starched ruff. The service is partly liturgical and party extempore. Sunday is not observed as in Scotland or England. They reckon from Saturday evening, according to the preadamite calculation, when the *evening* and the *morning* were one day. The Sunday evening is given up to feasting and parties of pleasure. Even the priests have dancing at their houses after the service is over.

Education is general over Norway, but not of a high order. Owing to the scattered population, schools circulate in the rural districts, the master remaining eight weeks at each station. Inter-

* Laing, pp. 109, 110.

† The land, we understand, has been recently sold, and a money payment is now made to the clergyman's widow.

mediate

mediate, or *real* schools in the towns, are good and well-conducted, where youth can be prepared for the university. Almost all the people can read, but there is a want of thoroughness. The clergy are well educated. Teachers are paid from 3*l.* to 8*l.* for thirty weeks' teaching, with board. There are 2,000 itinerating teachers, and 7,000 schools. Out of a population of 1,400,000, only 180,000 dwell in towns. The remaining 1,220,000 are spread over an area of 5,750 square miles. To every preacher is allotted, on an average, 3,473 persons. The number of children to each teacher varies from 60 to 100. The proportion attending school is from 2 to 9½ per cent. Mr. Brace remarks, that where preachers are fewest, and least is expended on education, immorality is most abundant.

Illegitimacy is great in Norway, though not equal to Sweden, where, in the towns, the proportion nearly equals the legitimate births, and where, in the liturgy, there is a prayer for *unmarried mothers!* In 1851-55, there were 10 per cent. of illegitimate births in Norway. This prevails to the greatest extent among the labouring class. In some counties, to every 100 marriages there are 92 illegal *liaisons* producing children, among the men, and 85 among the women. Among the freeholders, the proportion is 26 per cent. male, and 12 per cent. female. With immorality so flagrant, and drunkenness so common, there is much work for the religious and social reformer in Norway.

Mr. Brace says that 'the worst travelling habit in Norway is the disgusting spitting. I thought America had reached the lowest grade of nauseating vulgarity in that respect, but it is worse here. The decks are clammy with it.' X and Y also observed it in church and at a wedding, the priest himself stopping the service to expectorate!

But it is time to turn to the 'UNPROTECTED FEMALES.' It is now the fashion for ladies to adventure themselves in almost all regions where the stronger sex have gone, and some are so courageous as to do this alone. Who has not heard of Ida Pfeiffer, and her journey round the world? The volume before us is a very sparkling account of a tour in Norway, by two unprotected females—mother and daughter, the last of whom seems to have written the book for the benefit of the sex generally.

'We two ladies,' she says, 'having gone before, show how practicable the journey must be, though we have found out, and will maintain, that ladies *alone* get on in travelling much better than gentlemen; they set about things in a quieter manner, and always have their own way; while men are sure to go into passions and make rows, if things are not right immediately. Should ladies have no escort with them, then every one is so civil, and trying of what use they can be; while, when there is a gentleman of the party, no one thinks of interfering, but all take it for granted they are well provided for.

'The only use of a gentleman in travelling is to look after the luggage, and we take care to have no luggage. "The unprotected" should never go beyond one portable

portable carpet-bag. ' This, if properly managed, will contain a complete change of everything; and what is the use of more in a country where dress and finery would be in the worst taste? Two waterproof bags, with straps, and no key (a thing always missing), straw hats which will not blow up, thin mosquito veils, solid plaid shirts, with light polkas, woollen stockings, and hobnail shoes, are the proper Norwegian accoutrements, with a light hooded waterproof cloak to go over all, much the same as would be taken for a Highland tour, with the addition of two other things—a driving-whip and fishing-rod; the former is generally represented as a switch at the Norwegian posting-houses, and it is the greatest resource in the world to have the latter to throw in the nearest stream, without fear of a loud "Halloa," if kept waiting for, or in want of, a meal.'

Thus our ladies started on their tour—having gone through Denmark and Sweden to Christiania. Immediately on entering Norway, they began to sketch, and won much favour in the eyes of the natives by freely showing to all who cared to see them, the pictures they had drawn. Their readers will also feel grateful for these sketches, as they are beautifully impressed on paper. They thought Christiania a happy town—having only *seven barristers!* The politeness of the people gratified them, as did their hospitality. Mounted on a carriole which held two, they traversed Gulsbrandsdahl, and quite enjoyed the free life to which they were introduced. One circumstance they mention as a warning to ladies, that the constant question addressed to them was, '*How old are you?*' But they got accustomed to this, and did not blush in their reply. They soon were at home amidst the flad-brod, porridge, and cream, the short beds in rooms without locks, and the cup of coffee in the morning before getting up. In the forest, where they had to take to riding, only one lady's saddle could be procured. Mounting her mother on this, our fair traveller made necessity invent for herself. 'Now the *non-talk-aboutables*,' she says, 'proved their usefulness; bagging all my clothes in their ample folds, I at once mounted *à la Zouave*, and can assure every one for a long journey this attitude has double comforts; while mamma sat twisted sideways on a saddle which would not keep its balance, I was easy and independent, with a foot in each stirrup; besides the scarlet having the most beautiful effect through the green trees.'

Our adventurers penetrated into the silver mines at Kongsberg, and then diverged into primitive Tellemarken. In Naes they spent some time in the home of a Norwegian gentleman, whose 'young ladies took the housekeeping in turn—a week at a time; not merely superintending things in general, but helping to cook and wait, besides commanding in the dairy. On comparing the different ways of young ladies in England—the hours spent lolling in arm-chairs and frowning over crochet, they were much amused, saying, "in a distant country-place like Naes, there was time for everything, and they would rather go through any amount of housekeeping than be tormented by servants (dreaded even in Norway!

Norway!), so never thought of exceeding the moderate number of *one* within the house."' This is a lesson for daughters in England!

After visiting some of the splendid waterfalls in the neighbourhood, the *unprotected* returned through Sweden and Denmark to England. We wish our space had allowed us to follow their route more closely, and to have introduced some of their lively descriptions of Norwegian scenes and customs. But our readers must for themselves peruse the fascinating and beautiful volume of the 'Unprotected Females.'

Art. III.—1. *Lectures on Political Economy.* By Richard Whately, D.D. *Fourth Edition.* London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1855.

2. *Chaplain's Reports on the County House of Correction at Preston. Presented to the Magistrates of Lancashire.* 1855-1858.

3. *Early Payment of Wages.* Special Lectures to the Working Classes. No. 3. By the Rev. R. Maguire, M.A. London: Partridge and Co. 1858.

POLITICAL economists are not agreed in their opinion respecting the limits of their particular science. Continental writers have given much freedom to their inquiries, and have discussed questions which, it is true, are connected with national prosperity, but which more naturally belong to the departments of the statesman and the moralist. English writers, however, have been unanimous in their agreement on the fundamental topics of economical science; and from the days of the celebrated author of 'The Wealth of Nations' to the present time, they have confined their attention to the investigation of the principles which regulate the production, accumulation, and distribution of wealth. Many circumstances combine to promote national prosperity; and a long series of causes and results must be investigated, before we can arrive at the essential element which, under certain conditions, produces it. Often a single result, or one of these conditions, is pointed out as the true cause. Thus the statesman refers to the nation's just and wise laws, the merchant to its commerce, the officer to its army and navy, the scientific to its science, the philanthropist to its social condition, and the divine to its religious institutions, as the cause of prosperity. Many of these, however, may be regarded more as the evidence than the cause; or, at least, as belonging to the series of causes and effects which exert a most powerful, reciprocal influence in producing the result. When Lord John Russell says,* 'The first and main cause of the

* 'Essay on the English Constitution,' &c. p. 285.

wealth

wealth of nations is liberty,' he evidently points out a condition, necessary, perhaps, to the highest prosperity, but certainly not 'the first and main cause.' A nation may enjoy a large amount of freedom, and yet there may be something in the character of the people, and in their outward circumstances, which prevents their development and prosperity. We think it would be much more correct to say that the *useful industry* of the nation is the main element in its prosperity; for, when operating under favourable circumstances, it is that which constitutes its wealth, and enables it to secure the right administration of law, to extend commerce, to provide the sinews of war, to promote the discoveries of science, to ameliorate the social condition of the people, and to support and extend religious institutions. 'Labour,' says Dr. Adam Smith, 'was the first price, the original purchase-money, that was paid for all things. It was not by gold, or by silver, but by labour, that all the wealth of the world was originally purchased.' We have no hesitation, therefore, in affirming that England owes her prosperity to the industry of her people, which has enabled them to turn to advantage their position, and the passing events of their national life.

Labour, however, will be conducive to national wealth according to the conditions under which it is performed, and the relation which exists between the employer and the employed. Now there are three aspects in which labour may be regarded. Its performance may be entirely absolute, it may be conditional, or it may be free; corresponding to the three relations which the labourer can sustain towards his employer. He may be in a state of slavery, when his master has absolute power over him and his services, as is the case in the southern states of America. He may be in a state of vassalage, as in Russia, and in the feudal age of England, when the serf is bound to render certain service to his lord. He may be in the state of freedom, now enjoyed by our working classes, when labour is performed under stipulated conditions. Now in each of these relations, the labourer receives what may be regarded as his wages, yet under different circumstances. The slave receives the mere necessaries of life, as the result of his labour; the serf receives protection, and the enjoyment of certain advantages, as the reward of his services; the free labourer receives, as the compensation for his toil, the amount for which he has stipulated with his employer. The first is bound to accept whatever his master pleases to give him; the second is obliged to perform his service as long as he sustains the feudal relation; the third alone is free to choose his work and his master, and to stipulate the conditions under which he will perform it.

It is of the greatest importance to have a clear perception of these

these different relations, if we would understand the right position of master and man, and the duties which are appropriate to it. There is often a disposition on the part of each to treat the other as if the relation existing between them was based on feudal rights and tenure. When the labourer in a free country has performed his stipulated work, the master has no *claim* to his obedience and reverence, as the feudal lord had; nor has he a right to interfere with him in anything apart from his appointed labour. It is true, there are certain amenities which custom has sanctioned, and which are generally cheerfully rendered by those who occupy a subordinate position: these, however, do not arise out of the relation existing between them, nor can they be claimed by the employer *as rights*. On the other hand, there is a tendency among the employed to forget the relation they sustain, and to claim from their employer what they might justly claim if they were in a state of vassalage. When they have received their appropriate wages, all claim ceases; and they have no right to expect that assistance in times of need, and protection and support in times of difficulty and danger will be given to them, in addition to the amount for which they are willing to render their services. The relation of master and man is voluntary; the conditions of service are mutual; the one gives his labour, and the other an equivalent for it; and neither has a right to demand anything further. Whatever else is granted must be traced to the influence of interest, kindness, or respect, and does not necessarily arise from the relative position of employer and employed. The master can justly claim the due amount of labour; the operative can equally justly claim the due amount of wages.

Our present purpose does not require us to discuss the propriety of the definitions which economical writers have given of wages. Adam Smith defines it as 'The price of labour;' Malthus, 'The remuneration of the labourer for his personal exertions;' Mill, 'The price of the labourer's share of the commodity produced;' M'Culloch, 'The compensation paid to labourers in return for their services.' All these writers draw a distinction between wages, profit, and rent; though, as Dr. Whately has shown, they are often led into confusion by the impossibility of always preserving the distinction. The definition of wages by M'Culloch is quite sufficient for our purpose; and, as now the only legal mode of payment is by money, we shall use the term in its ordinary sense, to denote the amount of money given to the labourer in return for his services.

Now there are two important considerations, arising out of the industrial relation, which claim our notice. The great question, which the employer is constantly asking himself, is—'How can I obtain the greatest amount of the best labour at the lowest price?' The

The question, which the employed are frequently agitating, is—'How can we get the greatest amount of wages for the least amount of work?' The solution of these problems has often been attempted by each party, and the most lamentable results have followed the endeavour. Masters and men have been arrayed against each other in deadly strife; work has been suspended, capital has been wasted, wages have been lost, distress has overwhelmed thousands, and even riot and bloodshed have not unfrequently signalised the attempt to solve these economical problems. A momentary triumph is gained when the weaker side is obliged to surrender. The master, perhaps, congratulates himself that he now pays less than he formerly did for the same kind and amount of work; or the artisan rejoices that he now gains more wages for the same work, or the same for less work. Still the triumph is but short; and each is ere long reminded that the subject is too difficult to be disposed of in a single struggle, and by their individual influence. The fact is, these questions are really already settled by a fundamental principle, which is constantly operating in a free country. It is an axiom in economical science, that the rate of wages and of profits in any department of industry cannot, for any long period, either rise above, or fall below the rate of wages and profits in any other department. The law of competition effectually prevents it; for if any one department secures higher wages, or higher profits, at an equal expenditure of labour and capital, and at equal risk, labour and capital are attracted to it, the demand and the supply become equalised, and the marketable value of labour and money is attained. All attempts, therefore, in a free country, to force the rate of wages or profits beyond their appropriate value by strikes or reductions, can never be successful for any lengthened period. An artificial state may be produced for a time, but it will soon be destroyed; and a reaction will set in, which will ultimately restore the equilibrium to the agitated department. It is true, combination and monopoly will enable men to control the operation of this economical law; but so far as they prevail, to that extent will the freedom of national industry be restrained. The true rate of wages is the marketable value of labour, which is determined by the value of that which labour produces. Men's wages, therefore, will be regulated by the nature of the labour they perform, and will vary from the lowest mechanical work to the highest skilled employment. Each department, however, will have its real price determined by this economical law; and no arbitrary proceedings on the part of either master or men can effectually raise or depress the hire of the labourer.

While there are these definite relations between employer and employed, and these settled principles regulating their profits

profits and wages, which cannot be interfered with without producing distressing results, much remains in the power of each to influence the welfare of the other. The artisan may give his amount of stipulated labour in a way, which, though technically correct, may become prejudicial to the interests of his master; and the master may pay the workman his appropriate wages, yet under such conditions that their value is considerably depreciated. Some years ago it was a common practice among masters, especially in the mining districts, to pay their men on a system which obliged them to purchase certain articles of food and clothing at shops in which the employers had an interest. The evils of the 'truck system,' however, were exposed to the light of day; a terrible outcry was raised against it; and an Act of Parliament, the 1 & 2 Will. IV. c. 37, made it illegal for masters thus to gain a profit out of the hard earnings of their men, or to pay their wages otherwise than by the current coin of the realm. It was an injustice, which could scarcely be tolerated under the feudal age, and was wholly incompatible with the relation which men now sustain towards their employer. The practice has not entirely ceased, for it is still connived at in a few districts.

The interests of the employer and employed are so intimately connected, that what will best promote the welfare of the men will also best promote the welfare of the master. The great want, which has long been experienced, has been that of sympathy between those who sustain this relation. Almost the last words of the late Sir Thomas Talfourd were, 'The want of sympathy is the real want of English society;' and nowhere has this been so keenly experienced as in the industrial circle. Often the operatives have regarded their employers more as their tyrants than their friends; and masters have looked down upon their workpeople with supercilious pride and disdain, both forgetful of the fact, that they are dependent upon each other's harmonious co-operation. The steady, upright, industrious labourer must be far more valuable to his employer than the wretched, poverty-stricken, depraved workman, who, while his brief existence lasts, divides his life between labour and sensuality. The social condition of the employed, therefore, has a much greater effect on the employer's interest than has been estimated; and, no doubt, investigation would show that his interest has declined, or prospered, according to their social habits. Self-interest, then, should have led him to consider the welfare of his people; and when to that are joined the higher motives of justice, benevolence, patriotism, and religion, there is a powerful inducement to urge him, not only to pay to those in his employ the right amount of wages, but to consider how he can enhance its value, by placing them in a position to use it to the best advantage. Money is power, which the

the working classes will use for good or bad purposes, according to their social habits.

We are glad to find that this subject is occupying the attention of some leading manufacturers and employers. Deeply sympathising with the condition of their people, and conscious how closely their interests are bound up with the welfare of those in their employ, they are seeking to ameliorate their condition, and to awaken within them the spirit of true manliness and self-reliance. Much has already been accomplished. Instead of the wretched hovels, which men gladly forsook for the attractions of the public-house, they have erected comfortable abodes; and instead of leaving them in their ignorance, they have built schools for the education of the children, established reading-rooms and libraries, furnished baths and wash-houses, and provided means for their religious instruction. Government aid has been secured for the promotion of their welfare. Taxes which pressed heavily upon them have been removed, hours of factory labour have been curtailed, inspectors have been appointed to protect their health and safety, oppressive laws have been repealed, and many facilities have been afforded them to save part of the increased value of their wages, and to acquire property and privileges. Never was there a time in the history of our country when there was so much real sympathy manifested towards the working man as at the present day; and we hope the career of improvement in his condition, which has thus been inaugurated, will continue to advance, till the foul stains, which so long have chequered his social state, will be entirely removed.

Much attention has recently been given to the condition of our criminal population. The different aspects which crime presents have been carefully considered, and the influences which foster it have been investigated. Among other important facts, the connection between the rate of wages and crime is one deserving particular notice. The excellent reports of the late chaplain of Preston Gaol, the Rev. J. Clay, have thrown great light upon this subject. At the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Liverpool in 1854, Mr. Clay read a paper before the statistical department on 'The Effect of Good and Bad Times on Crime,' in which he showed by statistics that, when high wages prevail, the number of committals to prison is increased. The statements then made were severely criticised in the 'Economist' for June 1856; and in the following August, Professor Walsh read a paper before the same department of the Association to prove that good times are favourable to diminished crime, and that bad times increase the number of criminals. Mr. Clay replied to these criticisms in a second paper, which is printed in the Journal of the Statistical Society, Dec. 1857. Now after

after carefully considering the evidence furnished on each side, we are bound to admit that Mr. Clay has satisfactorily made out his case, as far as statistics can indicate it. It is this:—

'That bad times may add a few cases to the session calendars, and that good times greatly aggravate summary convictions; that the increase to the sessions consist of the young and thoughtless, who, when thrown into idleness, are liable to lapse into dishonesty; and that the increase of summary cases arises from the intemperance which high wages encourage among the ignorant and sensual.'—Report, 1855, p. 44.

The statistics of Professor Walsh do not really militate against the conclusion Mr. Clay has reached; and several considerations may be urged in favour of it. The professed criminals form but a small portion of the occupants of our gaols. It is a serious fact that *one* in 14 males of the working classes, or *one* in 16 of the entire male population render themselves obnoxious to the law, (Report, 1855, p. 51, note); and that a very large proportion of those who are committed to prison are in the receipt of wages when they perpetrate their offence. In the North Lancashire district, about 73 per cent. of the annual prisoners are in employ at the time of their arrest; and among the juvenile offenders it rises to 79 per cent. In Manchester, where there is a large number of professional thieves, the employed offenders amount to about 65 per cent. The committals for the first time also illustrate the effects of wages on crime. Nearly 100,000 annually enter our prisons for the first time; and this large number, says Mr. Clay, 'does not belong so much to the criminal, as to the ignorant and neglected portion of the labouring class. . . . . The proportion of prisoners committed annually for the first time in North Lancashire (74 per cent.) agrees very closely with the proportion in employ (73 per cent.); and nearly the same proportion of first committals obtains in England and Wales collectively.' (Report, 1858, p. 67.) Now these first committals appear to rise and fall with prosperity and distress among the working classes. Thus in Manchester, Captain Willis reports, in 1846, that 'the largest number of committals occurred during the most prosperous period of the year;' and in 1847, that, 'in consequence of the shortness of work, and the high price of provisions, the apprehensions had been fewer in three months than they have ever been during any three months since the police force was first established in 1839.' In Liverpool, the summary committals rose from 10,407 in 1853, to 13,127 in 1854, which was a year of great prosperity, when the ship carpenters were receiving 15*s.* per day, and were actually taken to and from their work in conveyances! The returns of the 'drunk and disorderly' point to the same result. At Liverpool, the apprehensions of this class in 1848, the year of distress, amounted to 3,019; in prosperous 1855, the number rose to 9,055. At the time of the Preston strike in

1854, the summary convictions for the year fell to 957, against 1,456 in 1851, and 1,226 in 1852. The excise statistics for Preston prove that there were 4,028 gallons of spirits, and 5,340 barrels of beer less consumed during the six months of the strike than in the preceding six months, representing a decrease of expenditure in the ale and beer houses of about 25,000*l.* It is now acknowledged that the main cause of crime is drunkenness; and this is most prevalent when money is most plentiful.

With these facts, then, before us, we think it entirely consonant with reason and experience to believe, that, in the present state of things, high wages operate injuriously on the social condition of a large proportion of the working classes; and that what ought to be to them the means of their social elevation, and to secure their present comfort and happiness, is employed to debase their nature, add to their wretchedness, and at length conduct them to crime. It is important, therefore, to inquire into the cause of this, and to ascertain whether there is anything in the present mode of the payment of wages which tends to produce such a painful result.

The main cause of the connection of high wages with dissipation and crime evidently exists in the ignorance and weakness of moral principle to be found among the working classes, which render them unable wisely to regulate the expenditure of their earnings. If they had the wisdom to see, and the resolution to effect, what would best promote their welfare, the precise day on which wages were paid would be immaterial. Labourers may be divided into two classes—the intelligent, sober, and prosperous; and the dissipated and improvident. To the first, the *day* of payment would be immaterial, because their prudence and self-respect would prevent them squandering their wages; and the *time* would be of consequence only if it be driven off till late on Saturday night, because then they might have to purchase at a disadvantage, when the market was about to close, or resort to the obnoxious practice of Sunday trading. To the second class, both the *day* and *time* of payment are of much consequence; because they require severe restraint, until higher influences can operate, to keep them from yielding to powerful temptation. The interests of the employer and employed, therefore, demand that, in selecting the day and time for the payment of wages, that method shall be chosen which will best promote the welfare of the two classes we have indicated. To all classes the *place* of payment is important, for nothing can be worse than the custom which prevails in some manufacturing districts of paying workmen at public-houses. From such places of payment the drunken labourer goes penniless to his home.

Employers are now seeing the importance of an early payment of

of wages. Saturday night was for a long period the general time for pay, and is even still retained by a large number of employers. In mining and manufacturing districts, different modes prevail; some masters paying their men on Friday, and some on Saturday morning, or early in the afternoon. Now a little consideration, we think, will show, that Saturday is the worst day that can be chosen in the whole week. On any other day, the labourer knows that when he has done his daily toil he will have to resume it the next morning, or run the risk of losing his employment; he therefore cannot afford, even if he has the money, to unfit himself for work by drunkenness or debauchery. On Saturday evening this restraint is taken away. He has a day of leisure before him, when he thinks he can sleep off the effects of his carouse; he therefore hurries from the pay-office to the public-house, becomes charmed with its 'company;' and when turned out of his retreat at midnight, he reels to his wretched abode, if indeed the commission of some crime does not conduct him to another place. We cannot use terms too strong in condemning the practice of deferring the payment of wages till a late hour on Saturday night. The sober workman is by it thrown into the midst of temptation; the careful housewife has to market on disadvantageous terms; the weak-minded operative is caught by the splendid baits of the gin-palace, and robbed of most of his earnings. The only pleas for its continuance are convenience and custom: but the former, when steadily looked at, soon vanishes; and the latter, like all bad customs, ought to be abolished. It would be good for the employer, better for the employed, and best for their wives and children that all wages be paid at any other time than Saturday night.

The principal objection which masters urge against any other day than Saturday for the payment of wages, is, that it will interfere with the labour of the men on the day following that on which they are paid. No doubt, among bad and dissipated workmen there will perhaps be instances of men absenting themselves from their work; but this, instead of being an evil, would ultimately prove a great benefit to the master, and to those in his employ. It would weed out the worthless labourers, and preserve the rest from contamination, and thus really place the interests of the employer on a firm basis. There is, however, abundant evidence to prove that few men worth keeping would absent themselves; and we shall select from it a few instances which, we think, ought favourably to influence all employers of labour. As early as the year 1832, a Committee of the House of Commons on Sunday trading reported,—

'If gentlemen, manufacturers, master-tradesmen, and farmers, were aware of the benefits which must result to the labouring class from paying their wages on an earlier day than Saturday, especially if that day precede a market-day, your

Committee entertain no doubt that feelings of kindness, as well as duty, would soon cause the practice to become general.'

In the year 1847, another Committee investigated the same subject.

The Rev. Robert Maguire, Incumbent of Clerkenwell, has collected evidence from some of the leading London establishments. We quote from his admirable lecture on the 'Early Payment of Wages' the following:—

'The Queen's printers, Eyre and Spottiswoode, say, "We have paid wages on Friday for some years past, and have not found any inconvenience from it. The men have expressed themselves very much obliged for the convenience and opportunity which it gives them and their families of making necessary purchases in good time, and without interfering with the Sunday. We learn that the temptation to excess is less on the Friday than on the Saturday evening, as a working-day is immediately to follow." Messrs. Spottiswoode, of New Street-square, write: "In reply to your inquiries, we beg to state that we have paid wages on Friday for five years and a half, and have found no inconvenience whatever from it. The men are very glad of the arrangement, and the only complaints we have heard are from the publicans." Then one of the great firm of Hansard, the printers to the House of Commons, writes: "In reply to the question which you have asked me, viz., Whether I experience any inconvenience from the practice pursued by me of paying my workpeople their wages on Friday instead of Saturday? I am happy to say, that not only is there no inconvenience felt by me from the plan, but, on the contrary, the system has worked most satisfactorily to myself, and, I feel assured, with much comfort and advantage to my men. . . . From the peculiar nature of my business during the session of Parliament, the greatest pressure is most often experienced on the Saturday; and far from the plan proving detrimental in any degree to the progress of the work, I think that the people, feeling quite sure that the change was made for their convenience and advantage, are most zealous that there should be no ground for attributing carelessness and non-attendance as the result of it." Messrs. Harrison, of St. Martin's-lane, write: "No one absents himself on Saturday, or appears at the office in an unfit state for work." Messrs. Woodfall and Kinder, of Angel-court, write: "We also see a marked improvement in the habits of some of the men arising out of the alteration. The custom of spending in drink on Sunday, which in many cases led to the same thing on Monday, is now checked at the outset by the necessity of working on Saturday; and we find practically that we have much less difficulty in getting regularity on Saturday than we had formerly on Monday." And to come nearer home, Mr. Rivington, of St. John's-square, writes: "The alteration from Saturday to Friday payment has resulted in advantage to all parties. On a recent occasion, the workmen passed a resolution, that the 'present system of paying on Friday is considered most beneficial.' " '—Pp. 6, 7.

Much more evidence to the same effect might be quoted, but the above will suffice. Saturday ought no longer to be the working-man's pay-day. The Queen and the Government have set an example worthy of being followed by all employers of labour. In the royal establishments all weekly wages are paid on Friday, except in one department, when it is deferred till Saturday morning. At the naval dockyards, and the Royal Mint, the workmen are paid on Friday; at the Woolwich Arsenal, in one department on Thursday, another on Friday, and a third on Saturday noon; at the Tower Ordnance, on Saturday noon; at the Post-office, part on Friday, and the remainder on Saturday morning. The Metropolitan Police are paid, a part on Wednesday,

nesday, and the rest on Thursday; and the City Police, in the same way, on Friday and Saturday morning. A very long list might be drawn out of great companies and commercial firms who have adopted the principle of early payment.

We advocate, then, the early payment of wages as best for the interest of the master, and the welfare of the men. The working classes would be great gainers by such an arrangement. If there be any truth in the old proverb, 'He gives twice who gives early,' it forcibly applies to the present subject. The real philosophy of wages consists in making a certain amount as valuable as possible. Early payment will secure this. Were it universally adopted, the wives would obtain better articles of food and raiment; the men would not be so much exposed to the seductions of the beer-house; the great curse of drunkenness would not be so prevalent, and crime, arising from it, would be diminished; the heavy pressure of business on Saturday, so expensive to the tradesman, and wearying to his assistants, would be relieved; and the evils of Sunday trading would be remedied, or, at least, the excuse would be taken from the lips of its advocates. The efforts made to ameliorate the social and moral condition of the working classes would become more successful; education would be better appreciated, and more generally secured; the press and the pulpit would exert greater influence than at present; and a career of improvement would be commenced which would elevate the tone and character of the labourer, and add much to his prosperity and happiness. The master would participate in the beneficial result; and he would find, by experience, that he would be amply repaid for any slight sacrifice he might make in promoting the comfort, intelligence, and morality of his men, by the additional security of his property, the increased value of his productions, and the confidence and respect of those whom he employs.

Art. IV.—1. *Report of the Parliamentary Committee, whether any measures could be adopted by the Government or Parliament, that would improve the position of Science or its Cultivators in this Country.* Lord Wrottesley, *Chairman.*

2. *Report of the 25th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Glasgow in September*, 1855, pp. xlviii.—liii. London: 1856.

WERE we to judge of the social benefits which science has conferred on England from the social position of her men of science, we should form a very low estimate of their number and value; and that estimate would be immeasurably lowered were we

we to reckon the millions which science annually casts into the Treasury, and sum up the pauper allowances which are doled out to its cultivators, and the miserable pittances which are disbursed for its advancement.

When we consider the vast extent of the British empire, the number and area of its colonial possessions, the magnitude of its royal and commercial navy, the grandeur of its manufacturing establishments, and the extraordinary expansion of its trade and commerce, we should have expected that the sciences and the useful arts, so essential to the development and promotion of these various interests, would have found in England the highest patronage; and that the sovereign and the legislature would have delighted to honour and reward the men whose inventions and discoveries have enriched the nation and added to its glory. But it is with grief we must confess that such expectations have been disappointed. The history of science and scientific men, of inventions and inventors, proclaims the melancholy truth that England stands ignominiously behind every other nation in the patronage of science and the arts;—and stands, too, with a statute-book in her hand defaced with unjust and oppressive laws, subversive of the highest interests of science, and hostile to the diffusion of knowledge and the progress of civilisation. By her patent laws she sells, exorbitantly and ruinously to inventors, an illusory privilege, bearing the great seal of England, while in her courts of law she strives to rob them of the boon she has conferred. By her laws of copyright she seizes the property of authors, and refuses to the productions of the brain the protection which she accords to every other species of property. She prohibits the free importation of works of science and art, teeming with theoretical and practical knowledge, invaluable to the cultivators of science, and calculated to promote even national interests. She imposes a tax upon paper, thus preventing the publication of works of profound science and learning, retarding the diffusion of knowledge, and impoverishing the unfortunate authors of valuable works which are too profound to be popular, and too expensive to be saleable.

If such be the spirit with which the Government and the legislature deal with our intellectual interests, we need hardly ask what patronage she has extended to the philosophers and inventors who have added to the glory and wealth of the nation. In other countries we find their intellectual chivalry seated in the senate-house, discharging official functions in the state, associating with the sovereign, and wearing those badges of honour, which, however small be their value in the eye of reason, are honourable distinctions—tests of a nation's gratitude, which the sage may covet, and to which even the Stoic may aspire. It is true, indeed, that these honours have sometimes been lavishly and wantonly

wantonly conferred, and so far degraded in public estimation; but the order which hangs on the breast of the hero, or the laurel which entwines the chaplet of the sage, are not the less honourable though sometimes worn by a soldier who never unsheathed his sword, or by a court favourite who never did a service to his country.*

Foreigners have found it difficult to understand how England should be the only monarchy in Europe where science is neither fostered nor endowed, and where her great men are systematically excluded from the honours of the state. It is, nevertheless, a problem of easy solution. Under absolute governments the sovereign exercises personally all the powers of the state. Every act of generosity to his subjects, and of liberality to individual genius, is reciprocated in sentiments of gratitude and affection, and in this action and reaction of beneficence, fresh motives are developed for more graceful concessions and more extended liberality. Every title which the autocrat wisely confers becomes a support and an ornament to the throne. Himself the fountain of honour, every stream which it sends forth sympathises with the source from which it flows. If he distinguishes genius or patriotism in his own domains, he entrenches himself in the affections of his people; and if he has the magnanimity to honour or reward the inventors of other lands, who have conferred benefits on society, he earns the gratitude of a wider circle, and rises to a higher place in the Temple of Fame.

Under a constitutional government, on the contrary, science and its cultivators occupy a very different position. The sovereign is there but a myth, without influence and power. He reigns but he does not govern. Though the fountain of honours he is not permitted to confer them. Though the purse of the civil list be nominally at his command, he cannot open it either to reward merit or relieve distress. Though the humblest of his subjects is supreme in his castle, the constitutional sovereign cannot choose the members of his own household. The royal functions are in abeyance. They are exercised by the minister of the day, to repay personal obligations, to quiet political consciences, and perchance to wrest from the subject his rights, and from the nation its liberties. Every influence at his command is employed to strengthen his administration and maintain him in office.† Science,

* The reader is referred to an admirable and eloquent chapter 'On the Rewards of Merit' in Mr. Babbage's able and interesting volume entitled 'The Expositor of 1851; or, Views of the Industry, the Science, and the Government of England.' See chap. xvii. p. 200. This work, replete with important facts, and characterised by just and noble views of the position and claims of science, merits the study of every member of the legislature.

† This fact is more gently expressed by Lord Wrottesley in the Report to which we shall presently refer. 'Owing,' says he, 'to the system which prevails

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powerless to assist him, receives none of his patronage, and when he falls, another faction succeeds, and turns into new channels of corruption the honours and rewards within its grasp.*

Previous to the passing of the Reform Bill, there was hardly a single philosopher who shared in the honours and liberality of the state. Lord Brougham, when Lord High Chancellor, called the attention of the King to this important subject, and obtained for several distinguished individuals the royal recognition of their claims. Sir Robert Peel sought for popularity in the same cause; and, under the pressure of public remonstrance and private expostulation, succeeding ministers imitated his example. The patronage of the Government was thus sometimes extended to men of science, not on account of their merits, but because it was importunately solicited by political partisans.

The British Association, in 1831, made it a leading object 'to obtain a more general attention to the objects of science, and a removal of any disadvantages *of a public kind* which impede its progress;' but many years elapsed before they made a direct appeal to the Government, 'to improve the position of science or its cultivators.' A Parliamentary Committee was at last appointed for this important purpose. It consisted of members of both Houses, with Lord Wrottesley as its Chairman, a nobleman well qualified for so important an office by his habits of business, as well as by his high scientific acquirements. The Committee met, for the first time, on the 3rd of February, 1852, and in the spring of that year Lord Wrottesley had an interview with Lord Derby on the subject of *pensions* and other rewards to men of science. He complained that out of 16,800*l.*†—'the total sum granted for pensions since the Civil List was settled at the commencement of the Queen's reign—a sum of 2,150*l.* only had been appropriated to science properly so called, or not quite 13 per cent.' 'Our complaint,' he adds, 'is that *in a country like this, which owes so much to science*, there should be *at any time*‡ no means of rewarding, either by money payments, or in any other manner, both appro-

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in this country of each successive Government striving to outvie its predecessors in popularity by the reduction of public burdens, there is a temptation sometimes to withhold grants which may swell the total outlay of departments in which reductions are contemplated.'—Report, p. lxii.

* An eminent writer, entitled by his position to speak with authority, has declared that in this country 'science and starvation are almost interchangeable terms. Literature and the fine arts may lead to fame and wealth in the case of a very few youths, but, for the most part, merely to struggles and beggary.'—'*Times*,' August 15th, 1858.

† During fourteen years, the annual grant of 1,200*l.* amounted to 16,800*l.*

‡ When Lord Rosse applied to Lord Derby for pensions to Dr. Mantell and Mr. Hind, it was found that the whole of the annual grant of 1,200*l.* had been appropriated, and much of it to persons who had no claim upon the fund.

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priate and acceptable to the candidates for distinction,* cases of great merit which have been brought to the notice of the Government.' †

Having received small encouragement from Lord Derby, Lord Wrottesley and his Committee issued a circular with the view of obtaining the opinions of the most eminent men of science, and afterwards drew up the Report which we have placed at the head of this article. This Report contains many just and noble views on the national value of science, and on the duty of the Government to endow and extend it; but we cannot concur in the injudicious and indiscreet opinions of some of the eminent men of science which are emblazoned in the Report.‡ Among the counsellors of the Committee we do not find the names of any philosopher resident in Scotland or Ireland, with the exception of Lord Rosse, and we look in vain for many of the great names which stand at the head of English science.§ The advisers of the Committee, indeed, are, generally speaking, the office-bearers of the Royal, Astronomical, and Geological Societies, and hence they may have been alarmed at the idea of an Academy of Science, or of a National Institute, which might be supposed to interfere with the institutions which they control.

But however divergent be the opinions of the Committee's advisers, on some of the points submitted to their consideration, they are nearly unanimous in suggesting to the Government several important reforms,‖ and in recommending the establish-

* In reference to the *distinction* here referred to, 'Professor Faraday' (to quote the Report), 'when speaking of the distinctions, both national and foreign, which may even now be earned, writes, "I cannot say I have not valued such distinctions; on the contrary, *I esteem them very highly;* but I do not think I have ever worked for, or sought after them."' In this sentiment we believe that every person who has gained such distinctions will readily concur.

† 'Report of British Association, 1852,' p. xxxi.

‡ The late Professor Edward Forbes is lauded in the Report as a person peculiarly qualified to advise and assist the Committee. 'He does not think anything like an Institute desirable!' In order to test the value of such an opinion, we must inform the reader that, in the first edition of the Report, he added to the above opinion, that the Institute of France, that is, the Academy of Sciences, has done more harm than good to science! The author of such a sentiment must either have been supremely ignorant of the history of science, or must have laboured under some mental hallucination.

§ The following distinguished individuals have not returned an answer to the circular of the Committee, and it is not improbable that many of them might have concurred with us in recommending a more general measure: Dr. Whewell, Professor Sedgwick, Dr. Peacock, Professor Stokes, Professor Willis, Mr. Hopkins, Sir William Hooker, Mr. Robert Brown, Dr. Daubeny, Mr. Baden Powell, Mr. Thomas Graham, Mr. Babbage, Sir James South, Sir W. S. Harris, Mr. George Rennie, Professor Wheatstone, Colonel Sykes, Mr. Horner, and Mr. W. Fairbairn.

‖ The following are the *nine* suggestions contained in the Report, *that* of a Board of Science being the *tenth*. Several of them, as Lord Wrottesley remarks, 'are rather suggestions on behalf of national education than privileges to be conferred on science;' but their importance cannot be overrated, and we trust they will attract the notice of the Government:— ['1st.

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ment of A BOARD OF SCIENCE, 'composed *partly of persons holding office under the Crown*, and partly of men of the highest eminence in science.' This Board is to 'have the control and expenditure of the public funds given for the advancement of science, and is to originate applications for pecuniary or other aid to science, and generally perform such functions as are above described, together with such others as Government or Parliament may think fit to impose upon it.' In this recommendation we cheerfully concur; but along with Lord Rosse, the Astronomer Royal, and Admiral Smythe, we must protest against the admission into the Board of *unscientific persons holding office under the Crown.* Questions of national importance, and affecting large interests, must often be submitted to such a Board, and the proposal of permitting ignorant men to have a voice in their decision is not less monstrous than would be that of allowing the deputy-lieutenants of counties to sit and act along with the judges of assize. A board of science, rightly constituted, would perform in matters of science all the functions now so perfunctorily and so expensively discharged by Committees of Parliament, and their decisions would go forth to the public stamped with the impress of theoretical and practical wisdom.

'1st. That reforms shall take place gradually in the system of any of our universities which do not at present exact a certain proficiency in physical science as a condition preliminary to obtaining a degree.

'2ndly. That the number of professors of physical science at the universities shall be increased when necessary; but that at all events, by a redistribution of subjects, or other arrangements, provision should be made for effectually teaching all the various branches of physical science.

'3rdly. That professors and local teachers shall be appointed to give lectures on science in the chief provincial towns, for whose use philosophical apparatus shall be provided, and that arrangements shall be made for testing, by examination, the proficiency of all those who attend such lectures.

'4thly. That the formation of museums and public libraries in such towns, open to all classes, shall be encouraged and assisted in like manner as aid is now given to instruction in the principles of art; that all imposts shall by degrees be abolished that impede the diffusion of scientific knowledge; and such donations of national publications be made as above mentioned.

'5thly. That more encouragement shall be given, by fellowships, increased salaries to professors, and other rewards, to the study of physical science.

'6thly. That an alteration shall be made in the present system of bestowing pensions; some annuities, in the nature of good-service pensions, be granted; and additional aid be given to the prosecution, reduction, and publication of scientific researches.

'7thly. That an appropriate building, in some central situation in London, shall be provided at the cost of the nation, in which the principal scientific societies may be located together.

'8thly. That scientific offices shall be placed more nearly on a level, in respect to salary, with such other civil appointments as are an object of ambition to highly-educated men; that the officers themselves shall be emancipated from all such interference as is calculated to obstruct the zealous performance of their duties; and that new scientific offices shall be created in some cases in which they are required.

'9thly. That facilities shall be given for transmitting and receiving scientific publications to and from our colonies and foreign parts.'

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Although the Committee refer only to the Board and its constitution, yet we find in the Report more special suggestions, which seem to meet with their approbation. It is suggested, for example, that the members of the Board should be distributed under the following departments:—Mathematics, Astronomy, Physics, Mechanics, Physiology, Zoology, Botany, Geology, and Chemistry; and that their number should not be fewer than *thirty-five*, which would give nearly four to each department.

We have thrown out the conjecture that some of the advisers of the Committee may have been afraid that an Academy of Science, like that in the French Institute, would interfere with the Royal and other Societies, of which they were office-bearers; but, what was less probable, and what proves the truth of our conjecture, the very Board of Science so unanimously recommended by the Committee, is not only supposed to interfere with the Royal Society, but is deemed inexpedient, lest *it should supersede that body*. 'It is proper to add,' says the Report, 'that Lord Rosse is doubtful as to the expediency of constituting the new Board of Science, on the ground principally that the duties here assigned to it might equally well be performed by the Council of the Royal Society, enlarged for the purpose, and *that the Society would be, in fact, so far superseded by the new body*.'* In this sagacious prediction we entirely agree. The Royal Society would doubtless be superseded by the Board of Science. It would be reduced to a club, which would meet weekly to drink tea and digest profound papers; and its Council would have no other functions than that of adjudicating the Society's medals, and editing the 'Philosophical Transactions.' Lord Rosse, we think, has seen the whole question submitted to the Committee in its true light. He proposes that the functions of publishing scientific papers should be united with those of the Board of Science, which is exactly what is done in France. The Academy of Sciences of the Imperial Institute discharges, and discharges to the admiration of the civilised world, both these functions, and we cannot conceive how they could be performed beneficially to science by two independent bodies, one of which is endowed and the other not.

With these views, and for reasons which we shall presently explain, we unhesitatingly predict that the Board of Science recommended in the Report will never be established in England. The Parliamentary Committee seem to have forgotten that there

* In replying to this opinion, Lord Wrottesley asserts that the Council of the Royal Society 'is not likely to contain at any time within it *such* a union and variety of talent as would be concentrated in the new board;' but Lord Rosse expressly provides for such a contingency by an enlargement of the Council; and if the Royal Society did not, as we believe it does, represent every department of science, the evil would be removed by the election of a few members qualified to discharge the new functions imposed upon the Council.

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are other British interests which have as good a claim to incorporation and endowment as those of science. The interests of literature, including archæology, history, and poetry;—the interests of the moral and political sciences, including philosophy, morals, legislation, political economy, and statistics;—the interests of the useful arts—rural economy, mining, medicine, and surgery;—and the interests of the fine arts, embracing painting, sculpture, architecture, engraving, and musical composition, are all entitled to the special patronage of the state; and we cannot suppose that the distinguished individuals who have cultivated and advanced these departments of knowledge and of art will permit them to be treated as nationally useless, and undeserving of national recognition. Still less can we believe that the powerful Press of England —a body especially distinguished by its literary and political acquirements—will remain silent should the funds of the state be lavished on the incorporation and endowment of only *one* department of knowledge.*

If the Parliamentary Committee, therefore, of the British Association, and the true friends of science, are desirous, as we know they are, to advance its interests, and place its cultivators in the social position to which they are entitled, they will demand from the state a *Board of Science, Literature, and the Arts*, which shall discharge the duties of existing societies, and perform the more important functions which the Government and legislature may demand. Such a board must, in reality, be an Institute composed of several Academies. The prejudices of Englishmen may give it a different name, and the state may charge it with different functions; but there can be no union of the intellectual powers of a great nation that is essentially different from that which characterises the Imperial Institute of France.

In the present state of the House of Commons, we cannot expect any just appreciation of intellectual labour or of its bearing

* The following admirable observations of Dr. Whewell have an important bearing on this question. After speaking of the great exertions made in every country for the promotion of astronomy by observatories, scientific voyages, costly instruments, and national rewards, he says: 'Yet the largest and wisest plans for the extension of human knowledge in other provinces of science by the like means have remained hitherto almost entirely unexecuted, and have been treated as mere dreams. The exhortations of Francis Bacon to men to seek by such means an elevation of their intellectual condition have been assented to in words, but his plans of a methodical and organised combination of society for this purpose it has never even been attempted to realize. *If the nations of the earth were to employ for the promotion of human knowledge a small fraction only of the means, the wealth, the ingenuity, the energy, the combination, which they have employed in every age for the destruction of human life, and of human means of enjoyment, we might soon find that what we hitherto know is little compared with what man has the power of knowing.*'

The establishment of a *Board of Science, Literature, and the Fine and Useful Arts*, endowed by the Government with 'a fraction of the wealth employed in the destruction of human life' would certainly be the first and the best instalment of so noble a scheme.

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on the material interests of the country. When men of science and learning are admitted into parliament, and have an opportunity of pleading their own cause, we may look for some comprehensive measure for bettering their social position and that of its cultivators; but the constituency must be better educated and instructed before such a reform can be expected; and, in despair of anything better, we are disposed to welcome the establishment of the limited Board of Science which Lord Wrottesley and the Parliamentary Committee have in vain solicited from the liberality of the state.

Such is a brief account of the social condition of science and its cultivators, and of the fruitless attempt which has been made by the Parliamentary Committee of the British Association to obtain from the Government the very smallest measure of reform. When an individual asserts the great national importance of a Board of Science and Art, he may be supposed to plead for a cause in which he has a personal interest; but no one will call in question the deliberate and disinterested judgment of eminent members of the House of Peers* and of the House of Commons when they declare to the world 'that science has not its due weight and importance in the councils of the nation,'—that 'a feeling pervades the community at large that *our country's welfare and even safety* depends on its due encouragement and fostering,'—that 'no limit can be set to the importance, even in a purely productive and material point of view, of mere thought,'—and that 'every extension of knowledge of the powers of nature is fruitful of application to the purposes of nature and life.'†

That these propositions are true we shall now proceed to prove by considering the claims of science in some of its more important and practical departments. If our narrow limits compel us to confine our observations to those great inventions and discoveries which have sprung from the practical application of scientific researches, it is not because we regard the most abstract truths as less worthy of national encouragement. Science is necessarily the parent of art. The speculations, and even the conjectures of one age have proved the germ of great inventions in another. The discovery of latent heat by Dr. Black conducted Mr. Watt to his great improvements on the steam-engine; and as an eminent writer quoted by Lord Wrottesley observes, 'the modern art of navigation is an unforeseen emanation' from the properties of the

* Lord Brougham has given it as his opinion 'that the teachers of the age of George III. (viz., Black, Watt, Cavendish, Priestley, Davy, Simson, Adam Smith, Robertson, Hume, &c.) covered it with still greater glory than it drew from the statesmen and warriors that ruled its affairs.'—Preface to 'Lives of the Philosophers of the Time of George III.,' p. viii.

† These two last propositions are quoted in the Report from Mr. Mill's able work on Political Economy, vol. i. p. 52.

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three conic sections discovered by the mathematicians of Alexandria. This affiliation of theory and practice is strikingly exhibited in the noble bequests which astronomy and optics, and other branches of physics, have more recently made to the art of navigating the ocean. How many thousands of lives and millions of money have been saved to England by the lunar theory of Sir Isaac Newton, which has enabled the mariner to find his longitude at sea! How much does the nation owe to those optical discoveries which have given the sailor his telescope, and those lamps of the ocean, those beacons of mercy, which in midnight darkness light the seafaring stranger to our shores, and warn him of the wild shelves with which they are defended! How much do we owe to theoretical mechanics for our ships of war and of commerce, and for the chronometers which direct the mariner when the stars cease to be his guide! How much to magnetism for the mariners' compass and the correcting-plate of Barlow! How much to electricity, for the thunder-rods which protect our public and private buildings, and for the noble invention of Sir W. Snow Harris, by which the lightning is carried quietly into the sea through the very heart of the ship which it would otherwise have destroyed! Even meteorology, the least advanced of the sciences, has enabled the navigator, by studying the temperature of the ocean currents, to find a safer and a quicker path across the great oceans of the globe. It would be presumptuous to estimate the value of human life which these inventions have saved:—it would be difficult to compute the amount of national property which they have protected, or the millions of money which they have poured into the treasury. And yet almost none of the men by whom these great services have been performed have been either honoured by the sovereign or rewarded by the state.*

In speaking of the steam-engine and its application, our readers will more readily appreciate the claims of science. Although Mr. Watt did not invent the steam-engine, he made it capable of performing those great and varied functions to which it is now applied. After years of intellectual labour and mental anxiety this great man brought the steam-engine to such a high degree of perfection as to render it the most precious gift which man ever bequeathed to his race. Whether we see it as a model with the strength of an infant's arm, or as a giant machine with the power of a squadron of horse, it never fails to excite our admiration. When we employ wind and water as the first movers of machinery, they serve us only in particular localities; and when the weather is serene and the season dry, they often altogether fail us. The steam-engine, on the contrary, is a servant that never sleeps. His

* Sir W. Snow Harris, after years of importunity, succeeded in obtaining from the Government 5,000*l.* for his invention.

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brawny arm is at our command whenever and wherever we require it. On the arid heath, on the mountain ridge, in the deepest mine, and in the heart of the most populous city, we can summon it to our aid, and when it has performed its functions there, we can despatch it on another errand. But when we view it as the palpitating heart of the steam-boat, or as the organ of locomotive force, it assumes an almost superhuman aspect, and in ancient times would have been worshipped as a god. On the boundless ocean

> 'Calm or convulsed—in breeze, or gale, or storm,
> Deep heaving'——

its triumph is complete—disporting itself among the ocean waves, dashing through their foaming crests, and piercing even the watery precipice that threatens to engulf it. The sea-god of ancient times crouches before the bold usurper, casts his trident among the waves, and abdicates his power to the new sovereign of the ocean. The elastic breath of a pound of coals and a bucketful of water is now the beneficent ruler of the deep—abridging the aqueous dimensions of the globe—bearing to unvisited shores the truths of reason and inspiration, and uniting the sage and the savage in the same brotherhood of faith and charity.

But it is not merely in shortening the sea routes across the oceans of the globe that the steam-engine has been the benefactor of mankind. It is now carrying our railway trains over the continent of Europe, the provinces of North America, and the plains of Hindostan. In another age it will rush along the southern pampas of the New World, and perchance bedew with its vapour the burning sands of Africa.

In order to enhance the public services of Mr. Watt, it is hardly necessary to tell our readers that the steam-engine is at work in every factory and workshop of the kingdom; that above *fifteen millions sterling* are annually gained by the nation in the saving of power alone; and that there is hardly an article in the cottage or in the palace, in the dress of the poor, or in the garments of the rich, that has not been made better and cheaper by the genius of Mr. Watt.

After this history of his services, we are anxious to know how he was rewarded, and it is with shame that we have to report the base ingratitude of his country. While titles of honour have been freely conferred on the mere possessors of wealth; on the soldier and sailor who did no more than their duty; on the corrupt supporters of government, who sell the liberties of their country; and on the immoral parasites and flatterers of royalty, they have been withheld from the greatest benefactor of the nation. In 1824, five years after Mr. Watt's death, when a parliamentary vote was proposed for a *monumental reward*, Lord Liverpool, the representative

representative of the sovereign and the nation, had the boldness to reply that there was no precedent for granting to intellectual merit what had been accorded to military and naval services, and that the government might be embarrassed by similar claims! At the public meeting which was held in consequence of this declaration of the minister, the very members of the cabinet confessed that *the fate of a war* might have been decided by the aid of steam, and that, but for the creations of Mr. Watt, *the safety of the state* might have been compromised;—and yet these heartless statesmen refused to him the simplest mark of a nation's gratitude.

But it was not ingratitude only that Mr. Watt experienced. He was the victim of the Patent Laws. In order to repay the labour and outlay which he had expended on his inventions, he secured his rights to them by a patent; and if such a privilege could in any case be branded as a monopoly, it could not in his. He did not ask the Cornish miners to buy his engines, nor did he demand a high license for the use of his inventions. He asked only for *one-third* of the value of the fuel which was saved; but even this pittance was refused. His inventions were pirated by the manufacturers of abortive engines. His patent was called in question; and in 1797 two out of four judges of the Court of Common Pleas voted for its reduction! After a lapse of two years this decision was unanimously reversed by the Court of King's Bench, and Mr. Watt was thus enabled to spend the rest of his life in enjoying the independence which he had achieved, and, by several valuable inventions,* establishing new claims to the gratitude of society.

If the great improver of the steam-engine was neglected by his country, and oppressed by its laws, the eminent men who applied his inventions to navigation and railway locomotion could hardly have expected a more generous treatment. Professor Robison and Mr. Murdoch, both Scotchmen, were the first to suggest and apply the steam-engine to carriages; and yet their names are hardly ever recorded in the annals of the useful arts! Henry Bell, of Helensburgh, another Scotchman, was the first engineer who applied a steam-engine, and one, too, of his own construction, to the propulsion of vessels on the Clyde. He, too, was neglected by the Government; and had not the magistrates of Glasgow liberally settled upon him a small annuity, he would have dragged out, in absolute poverty, the latter years of his life.

Although Mr. Watt's inventions have done so much for society,

* These inventions were—a machine for drying linen by steam; a machine for copying or reducing all kinds of sculpture and statuary; a method of heating apartments by steam; a plan of constructing lighthouses of iron; a flexible water-pipe for carrying water across deep rivers; an ingenious perspective machine; and two new micrometers. See 'Edinburgh Review,' vol. lxx. p. 488.

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they have yet other great applications to achieve. Steam-carriages for ordinary roads (and especially those which lead from towns and villages to railway stations), steam reaping-machines, and steam-ploughs, if not steam-balloons, are among the inventions of the future; and unless some great reform takes place in our political institutions, or some second Colbert becomes the adviser of the crown, we may safely hazard the prediction that the engineer or the man of science, by whose genius these contrivances shall be executed, will, like their great predecessors, be starved and dishonoured by their country.

The electric telegraph, which we do not scruple to call a Scotch invention, though perfected by Englishmen and foreigners, is another of those triumphs of science to which British statesmen might have appropriately extended the most generous patronage. In peace and in war its national value is inestimable. At home it is the right arm of the magistrate in the detection and punishment of crime. To the distant battle-field it carries out the commands and congratulations of the state, and makes known, in return, the wants, the triumphs, and, perchance, the disasters, of its armies. This great gift to society was offered to the world more than a hundred years ago by a gentleman in Renfrew, with the initials C. M., who published an account of it in the Scots' Magazine for February, 1753.* This ingenious proposal of conveying intelligence along wires by common electricity excited no notice, and has never till lately been referred to in the history of science. The very same contrivance was, in 1774, published by M. Lesage, of Geneva. Voltaic electricity was substituted, in 1811, by Soemmering; and after the grand discovery of electro-magnetism by Professor Oersted in 1819, a number of ingenious telegraphs were invented, by which the art has been brought to a high degree of perfection. It is not our intention to inquire into the relative merits of these eminent individuals. We are concerned only with the distinguished inventors to whom England owes the introduction of the electric telegraph. To Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone this honour is certainly due, but in what proportion we are not disposed to inquire. We willingly adopt the decision of their mutual friends, the late distinguished engineer, Sir Mark Isambard Brunel, and the late eminent chemist, Professor Daniell, of King's College, which was acknowledged as just by the rival inventors:—'In May, 1837,' they remark, 'Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone took out a joint English patent on a

* In this remarkable communication, entitled 'An Expeditious Method of conveying Intelligence,' the author describes several methods of conveying intelligence along wires by ordinary or statical electricity. Those who cannot refer to the original in the 'Scots' Magazine' will find it at full length, with an estimate of its importance, in the 'North British Review,' vol. xxii. pp. 548, 549.

footing of perfect equality for their existing inventions. . . . . Whilst Mr. Cooke is entitled to stand alone as the gentleman to whom this country is indebted for having practically introduced and carried out the electric telegraph, as an useful undertaking, promising to be a work of national importance, Professor Wheatstone's profound and successful researches had already prepared the public to receive it as a project capable of practical application.' Desirous of possessing the patent, Mr. Cooke gave Professor Wheatstone 30,000*l.* for his share of it, and, in 1846, he succeeded in establishing 'The Electric Telegraph Company,' which, by the outlay of *three quarters of a million of money*, had, in 1854, covered England and Scotland with a complete network of telegraphs, extending along 5,480 miles of railway, and employing no less than 24,000 miles of wire. New companies have since arisen for the establishment of submarine telegraphs, and they have been permitted to lay down telegraphic lines for connecting the submarine cables with the principal towns in the island.

From these details it is obvious that Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone have the sole merit of introducing the electric telegraph into England, a boon to the nation which it would be difficult to overestimate—a boon to the Government which they seem incapable of appreciating. While rewards and titles have been lavished on equivocal and even negative merit, neither Mr. Cooke nor Mr. Wheatstone has received from the state the slightest recognition of their inestimable services.

The inventors of the electric telegraph, sanguine though they were of its general adoption, never contemplated its submersion in the ocean. It is difficult to find who first started this bold proposition. So early as 1839, Dr. O'Shaughnessy actually carried the electric current across the Hooghly. In 1842, Professor Morse stretched a submarine conducting cable from Castle Garden to Governor's Island, New York; and the same distinguished individual, in the autumn of 1843, announced to the Secretary of the United States Treasury, '*that a telegraphic communication on his plan* might with certainty be established* ACROSS THE ATLANTIC, and that, startling as this statement might now seem, *the time will come when the project will be realised.*' Verified as this prediction has been, yet the experience gathered from the laying of cables of an inferior span was necessary to its accomplishment. In 1851 the first submarine cable was completed

* Professor Morse is said to have 'demonstrated to a Committee of the American Institute the possibility of effecting electric communication through the sea, although the transmitting cable was destroyed by the anchor of a vessel almost as soon as telegraphic operations had commenced.' We have no doubt of this. The electric current, though enfeebled, would pass from one end of the broken cable to the other, though separated by a considerable distance.

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by the Messrs. Brett from Dover to Calais. In 1852 another was stretched from Holyhead to Howth. In the same year Dover was united with Ostend, a distance of 70 miles; and latterly a cable was carried from Varna to Balaklava, though distant not less than 300 miles. These great undertakings prepared the public mind for the magnificent project of uniting Europe with America, the two distant halves of the habitable world. But though it was now probable, and might be proved experimentally, as it afterwards was, that a wire, 2,000 miles long, might be perfectly insulated so as to transmit telegraphic signals, yet a great problem had still to be solved. Could such a wire be deposited safely in the basin of the Atlantic if bristling with submarine islands; and could it remain, when it was laid, undisturbed by ocean currents, and the other influences to which it might be exposed? The basin of the Atlantic is a long trough or groove, extending nearly from pole to pole. Its lowest bottom is *nine miles* beneath the highest peak of the Andes, and is very irregular and rugged. Sharp peaks and crested ridges with precipitous flanks give it an alpine character; and were a cable to be laid upon such a bottom, it would, in some places, be suspended upon lofty pointed peaks, and, in others, would be bent up and down 'in zig-zag depths;' and elsewhere it would hang from precipitous walls thousands of feet high under a constant strain from its own enormous weight. Although this is the general character of the basin of the Atlantic, yet the officers of the United States' navy, in their submarine survey by a new sounding apparatus, discovered a platform or steppe, separating the Atlantic from the Northern Ocean, and peculiarly fitted for the reception of an electric cable. This steppe, which Lieut. Maury, by a sagacious anticipation, called *The Telegraphic Plateau*, is hardly 12,000 feet deep (a little more than two miles), and extends continuously, with a width of 400 miles, from Cape Clear in Ireland to Cape Race in Newfoundland. This line is the shortest distance between the Old World and the New, and the only one over which a cable could be safely carried and permanently maintained. 'Newfoundland is stretched forth as the hand of the New World to meet the grasp of the British Isles, which are extended as the hand of the Old World.' Between these hands Providence has placed a level highway, which the anchors of ships cannot graze, nor the eddying currents of the ocean disturb;* and wisely designed 'that

* It is a remarkable circumstance that the Atlantic steppe is not covered with a deposit of sand, but by a layer of delicate shells, proving that 'the depths are there calm and undisturbed; and that if a telegraph cable were once lodged upon this impalpable deposit it would soon be entirely covered over by fresh settlings, even if it did not at once sink into it by the mere influence of weight.' The little dead siliceous monads which compose this deposit agglutinate themselves round masses of metal; and it is believed that a submarine cable, deposited in this

the Old World and the New, severed at first by a great gulf, shall be re-connected by electrical sympathies and bonds.'

The formidable difficulty of crossing the Atlantic being thus removed, the Colonial Government of Newfoundland undertook the grand enterprise of establishing a telegraphic communication between the Old and New World. In April, 1854, they passed an Act incorporating a Company for that purpose; and aided by a grant of lands and money from the colony, the Company immersed 13 miles of cable in the straits of Northumberland, and 85 miles in the waters of the St. Lawrence, preparatory to the grander enterprise of crossing the Atlantic itself.*

Our limits will not permit us to continue the history of this gigantic undertaking. It may be sufficient for our present purpose to state, that after Mr. Whitehouse, the electrician, and Mr. Bright, the engineer of the Newfoundland Company, had ascertained, by elaborate experiments, that there was no scientific difficulty to be apprehended in telegraphing across the Atlantic, and had actually transmitted signals through 2,000 miles of wire, the Newfoundland Company sent their Vice-President, Mr. Cyrus Field, to England, to make such arrangements as were necessary to carry through the great enterprise which they had undertaken. The result of this visit was the establishment of *The Atlantic Telegraph Company*, consisting of the holders of 350 shares of 1,000*l.* each. Mr. Bright and Mr. Whitehouse became the engineers of the Company, and a distinguished Professor, Mr. William Thomson, of Glasgow, was wisely associated with them as a director. The prospectus of this adventurous Company—a body of men that had faith in science—was issued in November, 1856, and in less than a month the whole capital was subscribed. The

cemetery of the *Diatomeceæ*, will in a few years be 'built in by a flinty pavement which no trifling force could penetrate, and that it will become an integral and permanent part of the ocean bed.'

* It has been stated, in a letter in the 'Times,' that in 1852 Mr. Frederick Newton Gisborne, a young English engineer, abandoned a lucrative appointment in order to lay before the Government of Newfoundland certain plans for connecting Europe with America by means of an electric telegraph. Approving of the proposal, the Government furnished him with the means of making the necessary survey, and in the autumn of the same year Mr. Gisborne started with six assistants to survey the 400 miles of wilderness west of St. John's, over which the telegraph was to pass that connects the Atlantic cable with Canada and the United States. Each of the party carried on his back 70 lbs. weight, including clothing, axes, surveying instruments, and 20 lbs. of biscuit; the rest of their food depending on their rifles. Among the swamps, lakes, rivers, and woods which cover the country, they were exposed to such hardships and suffering that four of the assistants, worn out with hunger, fatigue, and exposure, were obliged to return home. Of the other two who remained with Mr. Gisborne till the completion of the survey, one survived only a few days, and the other has never been able to follow any occupation. After finishing the survey, Mr. Gisborne is said to have projected two companies to carry out his plans, but that financial difficulties compelled him to abandon to others the great scheme of carrying a telegraph across the Atlantic.

Governments of Great Britain and the United States 'engaged by a contract of twenty-five years' duration to pay to the Company, up to the time when its dividend shall have reached 6 per cent., a subsidy of 14,000*l.* a year, and of 10,000*l.* a year subsequently,' and to furnish ships for laying down the cable. Our readers already know that the cable has, after one failure, been laid by the 'Agamemnon' and the 'Niagara;' and that messages have been already telegraphed across the Atlantic, between the western terminus in the mid-entrance of Trinity Bay and the mid-entrance of Valentia Harbour, in Ireland, a distance of 1,831 miles. We congratulate our readers—we congratulate the world —on the success of this magnificent undertaking, this glorious triumph of theoretical and practical science.

In the early projects for submarine telegraphs, the English Government, true to its Bœotian instincts, refused to take an interest. When the Messrs. Brett, who originally projected these instruments of civilisation, offered to lay down wires across the Irish Channel for 20,000*l.*, and to give the free use of them to the State, this boon to Ireland and to England was peremptorily refused. Thus baffled in carrying out a purely British undertaking, these enterprising engineers addressed their scheme of crossing the English Channel to the French government. An exclusive privilege was instantly and unconditionally conceded, and Great Britain gave her tardy concurrence on the condition of paying nothing, and taking the use of the cable! The parsimony of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose feelings and intelligence are tied up in his money-bags, may be some excuse for the meanness of the Government of which he is the organ; but no apology can be offered for the illiberality of the heads of successive administrations, in withholding from the scientific benefactors of their country the cheap rewards of which they are the dispensers — those laurels which they gather for their underlings, and plait for themselves. England and the United States have, to some extent, assisted the Atlantic Telegraph Company. It remains to be seen how they will treat the distinguished individuals by whose genius and perseverance the Atlantic cable has been invented and deposited. Had the Queen of England, in her message to the President of the United States, reciprocated his noble sentiment, that 'the Atlantic Telegraph was a triumph more glorious, because far more useful to mankind, than was ever won by a conqueror on the field of battle,'* we might have hoped that civil and military merit would

* This sentiment, so little in unison with English feelings, is, we are glad to say, adopted by the '*Times*,' August 23rd, 1858, and as strongly expressed by Lord Eglinton in his speech at Killarney.

In speaking of the great excitement and public rejoicings in the United States on the completion of the Atlantic Telegraph, another, or perhaps the same writer

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be at least equally recognised by her Government; and that the men 'by whose skill, science, and indomitable energy the great national enterprise had been accomplished, and religion, civilisation, liberty, and law diffused throughout the world,'* would receive some special honour from the two great Anglo-Saxon nations between whom they have placed the calumet of peace.

Among the great inventions of the age, that of Locomotion by Railways stands pre-eminent,—a gift to civilisation,—a gift to nations, and a gift to the humblest individual of the human family. By the enterprise and wealth of English companies, the railway system has been developed in this country to an extent unknown in any other part of the world. Three or four hundred millions of money have been embarked in it. The rich man contributed his superfluous wealth, the poor man the pittance of his honest industry, and the gambler the shadow of his name. In 1845 and 1846, thousands of miles of new lines were sanctioned, which the companies had not the means of executing. In the prospect of high premiums and enormous dividends speculation ran riot. Shares in impossible lines were sold at extravagant prices; and the nation became an unlicensed gaming-house till a general panic brought the public to reason, and involved in one common ruin thousands of its victims.

Had the railway system been properly developed, it would have speedily triumphed over this paroxysm of speculation; but the mode of sanctioning new lines adopted by the Government gave a blow to it from which it never can recover. In place of appointing a board of eminent men to visit the localities of new and competing lines, and decide, upon their personal responsibility, without the expense and embarrassment of counsel, those great questions which were at stake, they intrusted this delicate and difficult function to Parliamentary Committees, subject to personal, local, and even political influences. In the parliamentary contests which ensued, bands of lawyers were marshalled against each other, and no less than *ten millions* of the money of impoverished shareholders were thus spent in the short space of three years.† Decisions were pronounced, unjust in themselves, and ruinous even to the successful parties. Lines were granted which injured by competition more important under-

in the '*Times*,' makes the following just observations: 'We may already learn a lesson from our American brethren in their *prompt recognition of national service*. The expedition from which the "Agamemnon" has successfully returned *was, at least, as important and as heroic as any of those which, in old times, brought down the acknowledgments of royal visits, knighthoods, promotions, and gratuities.*'—'*Times*,' August 26th, 1858. See Note on p. 240.

* President Buchanan's Message.

† This took place in 1845, 1846, and 1847. We leave the reader to calculate how much this sum must have increased in the *eleven* years which have since elapsed.

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takings; and such has been the result of this wanton and unwise legislation, that very few of our railways yield a remunerative dividend, and some of the most important lines do not pay a single farthing to their original shareholders.*

But it is not merely through Committees of Parliament that railway companies have been ruined. The Government, in its direct interference, has sometimes imposed upon railways the most perilous conditions. When the line from Crewe to Chester was completed, it was the duty of the state to construct a line to Holyhead to complete the communication between London and Dublin, but they left it to the Chester and Holyhead Company, who executed it to their ruin. They were not permitted to erect bridges at Bangor and Conway, that would have cost only 300,000*l.*, and they were thus compelled to expend 750,000*l.* on tubular bridges. The Government at first wrested from the Company 200,000*l.* as a contribution to the Harbour of Refuge at Holyhead; but they were afterwards obliged to resile from the extortion.† This unfortunate Company lost 47,000*l.* in parliamentary and law expenses, and paid to voracious landholders 124,000*l.* beyond the estimated value of the land! The idea of an oppressed and impoverished company does not at first excite our sympathy. We forget the ill-fated individuals that compose it;—the men of property driven from their estates,—the men of wealth reduced to poverty,—the men of professional industry lowered in the social scale,—the widows and orphans thrown upon their neighbours' charity, or consigned to the tender mercies of the workhouse. Such is the English system of carrying on great undertakings. Our fathers have told us that 'England expects every man to do his duty;' but history has written the fatal counterpart on the wall, that 'no man expects England to do hers!'

When we study the railway system as it exists in England, and admire the magnificent public works which it has created—its bridges—its viaducts—its tunnels—its terminal palaces—its work-

* These views have been illustrated within the last few months in the contest between the North British and Caledonian Companies relative to the Liddesdale and Langholm lines. After an expensive contest, the Committee of the House of Commons decided in favour of the Langholm line. The Committee of the House of Lords immediately threw out the Langholm Bill, so that a second ruinous struggle must be carried on in the approaching session. Under a 'Council of Roads and Bridges,' such as that which exists in France, results like this would have been impossible. Our limited space has not allowed us to notice the taxes and local rates imposed upon railway property, nor the enormous sums extorted by the unchecked rapacity of landholders, nor the gratuitous services which the state has so unjustly reserved for itself. But for these exactions, and the law expenses already mentioned, our railways would have been remunerating and prosperous.

† A writer in the 'Quarterly Review' characterises the terms imposed upon this Company as *excruciating*. The contribution to the Harbour of Refuge was remitted by the authority of an Act of Parliament!

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shops—and its cemeteries covered with the fragments of its shattered machinery, we are prepared to estimate the amount of theoretical and practical science which it has evoked. It is fortunate for our national reputation that no philosopher or engineer can lay claim to be the inventor of the railway, or its first promoter in England, for we should have found him a poor and unhonoured individual. We have Stephenson, however, and Fairbairn, and Brunel, and a phalanx of eminent men who have devoted their lives to the perfection of our railways, and who deserve every honour that the country can bestow. Foreign Governments have recognised their merit, and conferred honours on several of our philosophers and engineers; but we look in vain for their distinguished names in those lists of distinctions and decorations which the Sovereign of England professes to confer on the wisest as well as on the bravest of her subjects.

Among the other great practical inventions which science has bequeathed to society, we may enumerate the application of carburetted hydrogen gas to the illumination of our streets and dwellings; to the new art of photography and stereoscopic relief; to the electrotype and its application to the photo-galvanographic process of Mr. Pretsch; to the application of chemistry to agriculture; to the employment of chloroform in surgery; and to the electric light, though still in its infancy.

Although the Rev. Mr. Clayton, more than a century ago, obtained gas from coal, and burned it when made to issue from a small aperture in bladders, yet Mr. Murdoch was the first person who actually applied it as a substitute for lamps and candles. In 1804-5, he lighted up with gas the large cotton-mills of Messrs. Phillip and Son, of Manchester, and not long after this the writer of this article saw it in a glass chandelier in the drawing-room of Mr. Phillip. Mr. Winsor had the merit of introducing it into London, and of impressing upon the public the great value of the discovery, and various ingenious individuals have rendered it now safe and economical. When we consider that we obtain as much light from coal gas for three shillings as we do from tallow for twenty-five shillings, and as we do from wax for a hundred shillings, we may form an estimate of the immense sum annually saved to the nation by its use. In our great manufacturing establishments, and in the cottages of the poor, it has proved equally valuable. In large towns it has been a security against the perpetration of nocturnal crimes; and it has afforded to the humble artisan the means of carrying on his profession during the night as conveniently as during the full light of day. Mr. Clayton, Mr. Murdoch, and Mr. Winsor lived and died, unrewarded and unhonoured.

The art of photography, which has now such numerous and valuable

valuable applications, we owe to Mr. Fox Talbot and MM. Niepce and Daguerre. We all know its value in portraiture and in landscape delineation, and its vast importance as an auxiliary to art; but we seldom think of its great national value. We do not allude to its employment in the discovery of criminals, and many other matters in which the State has an interest, but to the thousands of individuals to whom it has given employment, and to its large contributions to the national income. We have no means of ascertaining the number of persons in England whom it professionally employs; but we may form a rude estimate from the fact that above *fifteen thousand* persons are engaged in Paris in the manufacture of lenticular stereoscopes and binocular pictures. In nations with an increasing population every invention, however small, has a national value, employing idle hands and taxed materials; and foreign statesmen have been liberal in encouraging and rewarding them. France gave an annual pension of 833*l.* to the inventors of the Daguerreotype, and made the art a present to the nation, and even to the world. The more important invention of Mr. Fox Talbot was never acknowledged by the State, and we are ashamed to say, that, by an unjust decision, an English judge and jury deprived him of his patent right.

Our allotted space will not allow us to dwell upon the Electrotype, an English invention, and one of the most elegant and valuable of the useful arts. It has received an unlooked-for application in the photo-galvanographic process of Mr. Paul Pretsch, in which he obtains, from a photographic impression in gelatine, a gutta-percha cast, upon which, when metallised, he deposits galvanically a plate of copper, from which thousands of impressions may be taken. For the same reason we can only mention the great improvements which agriculture has received from the discoveries of Liebig and the labours of Dr. Lyon Playfair; the noble application of chloroform in surgery and midwifery, which we owe to Professor Simpson; and the electric light, which we have no doubt will, for certain kinds of illumination, be universally employed.

Such is a brief, and, we trust, not an exaggerated view of the social condition and claims of science. That some reform is necessary, and must sooner or later be made, can hardly be doubted. Men of science and inventive genius are but little fitted to influence the public mind, and still less to take the legislature by storm.* The Parliamentary Committee of Lord Wrot-

* Mr. Grove, himself an eminent discoverer, very justly remarks, 'that scientific men have but very limited means of acting upon Government. They are politicians in a less degree than any class of her Majesty's subjects. They consist of men belonging to various classes of society, and whose ordinary occupations differ greatly. Most of the great measures of reform in progress which

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tesley obviously failed from its too gentle appeal to the State. They forgot that the minister has the hide of the rhinoceros, and must be probed to the quick before he can be chafed into sensation. It is the Press of England alone, with its intellectual power and indomitable independence, that can impress the national mind and conquer the liberality of the crown. We invite it to the struggle under its able leaders. The 'Times' has already pronounced a stern judgment on the condition of our science and literature,* and the 'Examiner' has been equally bold in denouncing the unjust distribution of the honours of the state.

In the preceding pages we have attempted to enumerate some of the more important services which science has rendered to the State. As lovers of peace we have hesitated to speak of its great value in offensive and defensive war. It is science, however, which teaches the iron shell to discharge its fatal contents; which speeds the rocket on its incendiary mission; and which guides the rifle-ball to the seat of life. It is science which constructs and impels our floating bulwarks; which places its lanthorns beside the Scyllas and Charybdises of the deep; and which teaches us to predict and evade the hurricane and the storm. Disastrous campaigns call out for wisdom in our councils, and science in our fleets and armies; and if England shall be compelled again to send her brave legions to a distant battle-field, or even to defend her island hearths against foreign invasion, she must enlist in her service, and dignify with her honours, the theoretical and practical science of the philosopher and the engineer. But it is on grounds higher than utilitarian that we would plead for the national endowment of science. The fame of England, the interests of civilisation, and equal justice to every class of the nation's servants demand it from the State. Even when science had few useful applications, the sage occupied a higher place than the hero and the lawgiver; and history has preserved his name when theirs have disappeared from its page. Archimedes lives in the memory of thousands who have forgotten the tyrants of Syracuse, and the Roman consul who subdued it; and Newton's glory will throw a lustre over the name of England when time has paled the light reflected from her warriors. The renown of military achievements appeals but to the country which they benefit and adorn: it lives but in the obelisk of granite: it illuminates but the vernacular page. Subjugated nations turn from the monument that

have been effected in this country result from a strong pressure of public opinion, urged on by agitation; and as men of science are peculiarly unfitted for this process, Government might not unreasonably be asked to step out of its usual habits and to lend science a helping hand.'—'Report of Parliamentary Committee,' p. liv.

* See page 240, *Note.*

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degrades them, and the vanquished warrior spurns the record of his humiliation or his shame. Even the traveller makes a deduction from military glory when he surveys the red track of war; and the tears of the widow and the orphan obliterate the inscription that is written in blood. How different are our associations with the tablet of marble which emblazons the deeds of the philanthropist and the sage! No trophies of war are hung in their temple. The cry of suffering humanity never mingles with their anthem; and ignorance and crime are alone yoked to their triumphal car.

But if the statesman be insensible to his country's fame, and to the interests of humanity, he is bound, by a sense of justice, to place the genius of knowledge on the same level with that of legislation and war. If the inventor adds to the national resources, strengthens the national defences, and saves the national life, is he not entitled to the same protection as he who speaks or fights in the nation's cause? If the minister sensitively appreciates in military adventure a higher risk of life, and a nobler self-devotion, may we not urge an equal claim in behalf of the philosopher? Are there no personal risks in his acts of voluntary service? Has science no strongholds to storm—no nightly bivouac to endure—no casualties in her bills of mortality? Do her rank and file exhibit no emaciated frames—no overwrought and distracted minds—no scanty commissariat—no widows and orphans? Believing that in the lifelong campaign in which the philosopher has to serve, there are more acts of self-devotion than in the soldier's briefer service, we make our final appeal to the legislature—to some commoner within its halls—some Burke or Sheridan to plead with burning eloquence the cause of the order they adorn,—to some senator whose industry or talents have raised him to the peerage, to demand for his fellows a portion of that which he has himself obtained. If our legislators are silent, we appeal to that illustrious prince, who, from his love of science, and acquaintance with foreign institutions, cannot fail to believe that England will never do justice to her benefactors, nor take her due place among civilised nations, till she has endowed a National Institute with its three Academies of Science, Literature, and the Arts.

ART. V.—1. *Essay on the means of eradicating the prejudices of the Whites against the Negroes and Coloured People—to which a prize was adjudged by the French Society for abolishing Slavery.* By S. Linstant (of Haiti). Paris. 8vo. 1841.

2. *Collection of the Laws and Proceedings of the Government of Haiti, from the Declaration of its Independence to the present day.*

day. Made and published by S. Linstant (of Haiti), Member of the Imperial Bar at Port au Prince, and of the Chamber of Representatives. Formerly Secretary to the Minister of Justice, of Public Instruction, and of Worship. Vol. I. 1804-1808. Paris. 8vo. 1851. Pp. 319.

3. *Essay upon Emigration to Haiti.* By M. Linstant. Paris. 8vo. 1850.
4. *Translation of the Prize Essay against the Prejudices of Colour.* By Baron Linstant de Pradine, Chargé d'Affaires from the Emperor of Haiti to the Court of London. London. 8vo. 1858.

EVERY question concerning Africa and its people is rapidly assuming a new character; and the various zealous labours of the last half-century in favour of its civilisation are producing their fruit in our perfect comprehension of the means proper to promote its welfare and improvement.

Speculation upon the capacity of the negro, and upon the resources of his country, has become conviction; and ere long the great nations of the civilised world will deal with him as they deal with each other, and as they are bound to deal with every nation and tribe upon earth, *according to settled rules of international law and justice.* This enlarges the sphere of African relations with the rest of mankind by making the negro what he really is, a common member of the great family of man; and it narrows the sphere of our agency towards him by bringing it within the acknowledged rules of duty from all men to their fellows. This position of the question gets rid of much difficulty, and, above all, sets aside the absurd and insolent imputation, often brought by shallow pretenders to enlightened views of things, that *philanthropy* is only the 'maundering sentimentality of weak people;' and it elevates that glorious work of Christianity to what it is justly to be termed—a work of true statesmanship. Therefore in examining the present prospects of the negro race, and their real genius or capabilities, it will be indispensable chiefly to ascertain what is doing at this moment in regard to that race by the civilised states most extensively connected with them, and especially what our own Government and people are doing in respect to that connection.

After more than two hundred years' use of the slave trade, we gave it up; and the emancipation of our colonial slaves—a fit accompaniment of the first measure—slowly followed. The analogous claims of free colonial tribes of our fellow-creatures upon our justice had never been entirely neglected; and seeing that we have been able to moderate the sufferings of enslaved Africans beyond sea, the time assuredly is come thoroughly to respect their rights

rights at home, and to determine how the due appreciation of their moral and political capabilities shall raise them high in the scale of humanity. The end is worthy of all the means at the command of reasonable men who, in their past philanthropic successes, can find encouragement towards greater efforts, and who will thus be prompted to resume with vigour the duty of protecting the oppressed when new occasions arise for the revival of our old regard for them. Hence the general and strong sympathy in the recent African discoveries of Livingstone and Barth, although, with all their merit, their works are but lively repetitions of those of our Mungo Parks and Clappertons, and of the other famous men of a former generation.

But the present revival of our old interests in Africa is in all respects opportune. A careful and candid review of the history of the negro race during the last thirty or forty years completely removes the veil that has covered that continent for ages in impenetrable mystery; and a vast field is opened for the application of the best means recommended by experience for securing our just and benevolent objects.

By the negro race is here meant coloured men in Africa, and of African origin, of all hues and configurations, from the tribes of Sennaar in the east, and of Senegal in the west, to the central Kroomen and Ashantees and Mozambiques—from the people of the Niger to those of the Congo and Zambese, to the Bechuanas, the Zoolas, the Basootus, the Cape Caffres, and the Hottentots of the extreme south. To all these must be added the coloured people of Madagascar and of the other African islands, with the descendants of Africans in North and South America and the West Indies. Various in their languages, their features, and the shades of their skins, they offer plain common characteristics. They are all exposed to the same unreasonable prejudice o colour, and have all been treated with the same measure of gross injustice whenever the whites have come into contact with them as slave-dealers, slave-owners, or unscrupulous, intruding colonists. Nor are any of them without links of natural union with well-disposed white men, recent positive facts showing that, when dealt with equitably and wisely, all these Africans are alike willing and able to make us suitable returns for every social benefit imparted to them. It is not pretended that they are free from human vices belonging to their rude condition; but every form of progress has demonstrated their capacity for the highest civilisation. The philanthropist and the missionary have ever found them docile. Science has long since opened the way to their teeming millions, who receive our travellers with confiding welcome. They themselves also offer abundantly that indication of capability of improvement—the love of travel. At the same time, legitimate trade

trade gives us boundless products of their eager industry. Regions in Africa, once held to be barren sands, are found as rich for culture as they are populous; and where geographers used to place 'elephants instead of towns,' we now see millions of well-tended sheep to supply the looms of Yorkshire with the finest wool. The sugar-cane and cotton-plant too, which two centuries ago were sacrificed in Africa, to favour monopoly supported by her enslaved sons in Brazil,* are now brought back with advantage to the native sons of emancipated men.

Nor has the African, when escaped from slavery beyond sea, been slow in his progress. Nobly independent in Haiti, in defiance of the resistance of France, and despite of the demoralising effects of former enslavement, African patriots have there become intelligent statesmen and enlightened members of the great commonwealth of nations. The writings of one of these statesmen, of which the titles are at the head of this paper, are acceptable contributions to our own intellectual productions; and their author, the Baron de Pradine, is thus not only the worthy representative of Haiti at the court of a British queen, but also the advocate of Africa before the intelligent Christian world.

This last circumstance happily illustrates a novel scene in the grand drama of civilisation, which in Africa, in common with other lands, now more than at any former period of our intercourse with that continent, depends upon the measures of statesmen for its advancement. Such an unquestionable fact gives a special value to M. de Pradine's writings published at the time that the African race is taking its proper station erect among us, and so, as he justly urges his people to do, by their own energies fulfilling the expectations confidently formed of them by their earlier friends. What such well-grounded expectations were, was pointedly stated sixty-six years ago by Mr. Pitt, who when prime minister declared his persuasion that the barbarous Africans, if allowed 'the common means with which other nations had been blessed, would emerge from their barbarism.'

Some persons then insisted that incurable savageness was the doom of Africa; but Mr. Pitt, in perhaps the most brilliant display of parliamentary eloquence that ever graced the cause of philanthropy, showed, with logic as powerful as his eloquence was feeling, that like our own British forefathers—once carried slaves to Rome, and sunk in deep social degradation, but by slow progression at length renowned in all the acquirements of civilised life—the swarthy sons of Africa would, 'under the guidance of a

* It is upwards of thirty years since a Portuguese minister, the Marquis Sa Bandeira, pointed out the fact of prosperous plantations in Congo being destroyed in order to secure a more profitable market in Lisbon for the American colonists!

beneficent

beneficent religion, and the protection of just laws, gradually attain equal improvement.'*

Mr. Pitt's sagacity is well approved by the rise of the negro independent state of Haiti, in the West Indies, over prodigious difficulties opposed to it by France, and by every other civilised nation interested in negro slavery; and along with these difficulties, over the corrupt influences of slavery upon the people themselves. Notwithstanding these great obstacles, the coloured Haitians have achieved a triumph equal to those of the patriots of Switzerland, of Holland, and of the United States of North America. They are now, too, besides the warriors who won their victories, producing statesmen capable of organising a community, and writers to adorn and defend their cause.

Among the last, the Haitian minister at our court holds a pre-eminent place; and during eighteen years he has maintained it with vigour and complete success. The first of the Baron de Pradine's works was a prize essay upon the best means of extinguishing the prejudice of colour. The subject was the fittest for such an athlete; and he demonstrated, in the competition, his own worthiness by carrying off the prize from several French competitors of no mean pretensions. Of the eleven who contended for that prize, it deserves to be noted that two others were Africans, to whom the second and third places of honour were awarded. The names of Lamartine and Carnot, among the judges of this intellectual contest, are guarantees of the unsuspected fairness of the decision. M. de Pradine, after filling a weighty office in his own country, has produced two other works of merit —an essay on emigration to Haiti, and a collection of the laws of Haiti.

Injustice long suffered from the white planters naturally raised feelings of hatred and alienation among the negroes, which they indulged after the actual conflicts, by prohibiting the settlement of white people among them as citizens. M. de Pradine, on the contrary, in his essay on emigration, now warmly advocates the suppression of *the black man's* prejudice against us, and recommends the union of races, in order to the elevation of his own people, and for the general good.

'What have we in common with the homicides of France?' asked ferociously the earlier avengers of negro suffering in Haiti, after they had won its independence. 'Their cruelty opposed to our enduring moderation; their colour so different from ours; the expanse of the seas between us; our climate so fatal to them; —all this warns us never to look upon Frenchmen as our friends.' Such is the language of the black chief, Dessalines, to the

* Mr. Pitt's speech in the House of Commons on the 2nd of April, 1792.

Haitian

Haitian people half a century ago.'* Having learned a better lesson from the philosophy of Europe, and from experience, M. de Pradine maintains that all men are brothers; and from that principle he logically deduces consequences in favour of universal amity, from which his countrymen above all may reap countless benefits.

To this end, M. de Pradine extends the subject of *African* civilisation to its legitimate limits as belonging to the world-wide question, so long and so bitterly debated between the more and the less advanced members of the human family—a question really dependent, not upon colour, but upon the far more ancient occasion of dispute among men, namely, the overbearing pretensions of the stronger to rule the weaker, the insolent claims of wrong over right, which heathen poets denounced, and all religions reprove.

M. de Pradine's more important work is the 'Collection of the Laws and State Acts of Haiti,' in which he offers an historical tribute to its heroic founders, and, at the same time, exhibits his countrymen in the performance of the most difficult of human works—resistance to misrule, and the construction of good laws. Knowing well that the merit of being capable members of civilised society can only be properly claimed for his race by fair evidences of their superiority to the humbler victims of former wrong, he elaborately displays their powers as evinced by black lawgivers and coloured administrators. The result is no less to the credit of his own capacity, than it is demonstrative of the talents of the heroes who brought Haiti safely through its arduous trials.

Other valuable books of recent dates, by coloured Haitians, furnish new proofs of the validity of their title to our respect. M. Saint-Remy has published several works upon the more interesting periods of Haitian history, and is now completing an elaborate historical biography entitled 'Petion et Haiti.'

In reading the earnest, eloquent pages of M. Saint-Remy, we see sufficient proofs of the identity of his race with our own. The same ambition and jealousies, and too often the same corruptions which disgrace us, harass and disgrace the Haitians. But individual heroisms, of which we are justly proud, do them also honour; and the people, so often misled, as among ourselves, for the most part take a correct view of things, because, in Haiti as here, the people must be disinterested.

To the writings of M. Saint-Remy must be added the voluminous works of M. Ardouin, also of Haiti, entitled 'Studies upon the History of Haiti.' And at this early period of its annals to have produced three authors so eminent as M. de Pradine, M. Ardouin, and M. Saint-Remy constitutes an irre-

* 'Collection of the Laws of Haiti,' by M. de Pradine, p. 3.

sistible

sistible claim to our respect, and justifies the strongest hopes of what may come hereafter from the general cultivation of the African mind. Nor is it less to the honour of France to have produced a community of negroes and coloured men capable of establishing an independent state like Haiti, and, so soon after its establishment, writers like these to grace its literature.

On the last point, M. de Pradine insists with force, that the brilliant world of the tropics, with its marvels of nature, must of necessity give a new career of letters, and new forms in the fine arts to the world, whenever the millions of men, at present uncultured, shall enjoy the advantage of civilisation.*

But deeply as sincere Christians must sympathise with the seven or eight millions of Africans beyond the Atlantic, we turn to the shores of all Africa with still deeper concern.

It is, however, in that south, with frontiers of a thousand miles towards the interior from our colonies of the Cape and Natal, that a wise philanthropy might promote African improvement without calculated limits. It is here, nevertheless, that misrule during the last twenty years has done its worst to turn good into evil, to the cruel oppression of the native tribes, and to our own enormous cost in life and treasure. Here we have made great wars, one after another, upon those tribes without any justifiable grounds, and sacrificed the finest hopes of humanity both in simple ignorance of its claims and by the influence of false principles of policy. The whole case of South Africa is, indeed, full of instruction; and it is still possible that the disasters at this moment threatening its tribes and ourselves may be averted by the British Government retracing the ill-advised steps and staying the proceedings it has blindly permitted during the last twenty years and is now sanctioning in South Africa.

The case of the Caffre frontier of the Cape is altogether worthy to be set forth thoroughly, and without respect of persons, seeing that the climax of calamity is here reached in a quarter which, with common care, would have become an example of social improvement to the whole south; whilst if our present deliberate aggressions upon the natives be not peremptorily stopped, those aggressions must be the precursors of incalculable misery from that frontier to far beyond the southern tropic. The case is the more urgent as there is plainly a design in powerful quarters at home, and at the Cape, to destroy the best elements of African civilisation by crushing its proper native agents, the well-disposed chiefs of the tribes, to seize their lands, and use their people as our servants.

* We have much pleasure in adding another name to the above list, viz., that of M. Machon, a talented young African, author of the only complete 'History of Haiti.'

A brief narrative of unquestionable facts will set this grave charge in a clear light, and show how the civilisation of Africa is impeded by measures which ministers have unscrupulously approved through their habitual delegation of authority to unchecked subordinates, and which parliament has sanctioned in culpable disregard of its duty.

South Africa came under British rule at a period of zealous efforts to promote the good of the African race. In 1806, the year of the abolition of the slave-trade, the Cape colony was retaken by us, with a resolution to retain it at the general peace. But under such ill guidance the colonists, Dutch and English born, followed their own devices in regard to the native tribes. Consequently frequent and violent collisions, with breaches of good understanding on both sides, which a system of humane policy, recommended by impartial men, must have prevented, formed the ordinary condition of the Caffre frontier prior to 1833.

General indignation was excited at this by unceasing appeals of writers of all classes — travellers, poets, and philanthropists — against our aggressions on that frontier; whilst the colonists themselves were in a state of extreme irritation on account of the vacillation of the Government on the subject. At the same time the public at large, relieved by the emancipation of our colonial slaves, turned with less divided zeal to this old field of philanthropy. It was an era of great promised reforms; and a powerful call in support of those appeals was made upon parliament by the late Sir Fowell Buxton, who easily obtained a committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the whole subject of the relations of all our colonial aborigines with us. The natives of Africa, and especially those of the south, were prominent objects of this great inquest. The Secretary of State for the Colonies had already, in something like alarm at the growing storm of dissatisfaction, sought counsel from afar to meet it by a better administration at the Cape. Scandalous nepotism there had driven the very ablest functionary of the colony, the present Sir Andries Stockenström, into retirement; and in 1834 he was in Sweden. Thither, accordingly, inquiries were sent for his opinion how to calm the difficulties upon all the Cape frontiers—not only towards Caffreland, but also beyond the Orange River to the north-east. The Boers, or Dutch colonists, were breaking bounds in one quarter; in another the English settlers of 1820 pressed upon the Caffres; and an enterprising party of English and Dutch had formed an outlying post at Natal, where they urged the Government to plant a colony in a most suitable spot upon an improved principle of settlement. Sir Andries Stockenström gave the soundest possible advice upon this occasion, setting forth the advantages of the Government taking the *lead* of the enterprising whites, so as to guide their advance, and

and to prevent the wrongs upon the natives, so often the precursors of bloodshed in the like circumstances. The careless reception of this wise advice by the Secretary of State was shown in a curious misprint of the despatch containing it. Instead of the proper words, 'taking the *lead*,' which sufficiently expressed the meaning of the writer, being correctly given in the Blue Book, the passage was turned into 'take the *land!*' the very thing which is the main cause of mischief and disaster, and which Sir Andries Stockenström certainly did not recommend.

Events, however, did not halt whilst the careless Colonial Minister blundered. Sir F. Buxton's committee sat year after year, collecting vast stores of good information, more especially upon South Africa. Sir A. Stockenström was the chief witness before it; and his clear, eloquent account of the mischievous system in force upon the whole Cape frontier made a deep impression. There appeared also before the committee native South Africans, whose genuine tales exhibited at once their own worth, and the worthlessness of our administration of Cape affairs in the interior. Nor did any one of the parties locally interested in those affairs hesitate to ask for a radical change in the *system* then in force upon the Caffre frontier. Discontent was general, with no small apprehension of coming disasters.

When, therefore, pending that parliamentary committee's sitting, news arrived of a great Caffre war having broken out, none were surprised; and a thorough reform was quickly adopted for the government of the Caffre frontier. A new minister, Lord Glenelg, was become Colonial Secretary; and the restoration of Caffreland, which the Cape Governor had conquered, advised by his lordship, substantially proved that a better principle prevailed for the time in the Colonial Office. If a vote had then been taken in parliament upon the subject, the advocates of that better principle would have triumphed. The appointment of Sir Andries Stockenström as lieutenant-governor of the Cape, to carry out the act of justice resolved upon, gave much satisfaction. A still stronger guarantee of justice, and of its sure accompaniment, African improvement, was afforded by our then making TREATIES with the Caffres for a more cautious frontier police, by which the influence of their chiefs was enlisted in favour of our border colonists and of our traders. By the same treaties the rights of the Caffres were more respected than heretofore, and a more friendly intercourse maintained between their chiefs and our authorities.

This was really the beginning of a new era of African policy, calculated to elevate barbarous neighbours at the same time that it protected our own people. It so completely succeeded that it stopped another furious Caffre war universally declared to be imminent; and whilst it conciliated the natives, and satisfied their

friends the philanthropists, it was cordially accepted by the border colonists, excepting only individuals directly interested in a war expenditure, and the too numerous persons in the colony who had eagerly speculated upon sharing the lands of the conquered Caffres.

The form of this new system established in 1836-37 upon the frontier was what in Cape history are called the *Stockenström* treaties, from the above-named Sir Andries Stockenström, who from early youth had been employed in the civil and military service of the colony. This appointment was an homage done to the principle, so much discussed of late, of intrusting the nation's administration to its best men; but which, so far from being a novelty, has descended to us from the ancients in the proverbial injunction of Alexander—*Detur digniori.* Its observance is expressly directed by the statute of 12 Richard II., enacted five centuries ago. It is a principle more especially important in the relations of a civilised, powerful state like ours with barbarous tribes; and the philanthropists of 1836 deserve no small credit for having insisted upon it as they did at that time, and for having so readily found the fit man to carry out their admirable designs for South Africa.

Why, then, was this golden rule of the constitution broken in the Colonial Office by the speedy removal of Sir Andries Stockenström from his well-filled post?—and why were those admirable designs so soon afterwards set at nought by that office?

The reply to these questions involves matter of the greatest moment to our character, and it meets all the difficulties of African progress. *Treaties* with barbarous people are as old as the most ancient records of history. At the Cape, they had long been made with the Caffres, and they are, beyond all doubt, one of the first steps towards the civilisation of such a people. William Penn's *treaty* with the American Indians, and the unvarying respect of its conditions by his representatives and the Society of Friends, are just titles to the respect in which he and they are held by the whole civilised world. But exactly as treaties form guarantees in favour of the tribes, they impose restraints upon colonists who look with covetous eyes upon the lands of the natives so protected. These men, therefore, dislike treaties with the tribes, which are also disliked by a body among us at home, who hold it to be the will of Providence that civilised colonists should necessarily destroy the barbarians, their neighbours. Some of our ministers were of this opinion when Lord Glenelg proposed his just measures respecting the Caffre frontier to the cabinet. A warm debate arose there on the subject; and it was with no small difficulty that a majority was prevailed upon

to

to adopt the right course already approved in a committee of the House of Commons.

This difference of opinion in the cabinet upon so capital a point partook as much of the character of an intrigue, as of an error in judgment; and it soon had a fatal result with respect to Sir Andries Stockenström's proceedings, notwithstanding their complete success. Local opposition, equally the work of intriguers, was got up against Sir Andries and his measures. He consequently was removed, and those measures were paralysed.

Meanwhile the Aborigines' Committee persevered in its labours of a third session of parliament, a duration perhaps unprecedented, the magnitude and interest of the work to be accomplished fully warranting the pains bestowed upon that work.

The report of the Committee was at length prepared, and the draft of it confided to several experienced individuals not members of the House of Commons. They were exceedingly pleased with its provisions. It recommended periodical commissions of inquiry throughout the colonies, that could not have failed to enlighten parliament and the Government and the public, and also conciliate the colonists and the natives. For want of the authentic information to be collected by such commissions of inquiry, we are now exposed to surprises and errors of which the fatal results are at this moment before the world in regard to the Indian revolt. In Mr. Bright's speech respecting India last session, nothing was more remarkable than his suggestion of periodical inquiries by such commissions from home.

Treaties with the native authorities were also expressly provided for in the approved draft, the spirit of which recognised the advantage of intimate, well-guarded relations between us and the tribes, so as to secure mutual good-will. Nor had this draft a single objectionable clause.

What, then, must have been the regret and surprise of the persons invited to read that draft to find the actual report framed in a directly contrary spirit! The recommendation of commissions of inquiry was suppressed. Treaties were ostentatiously objected to, relations between coloured and barbarous tribes were condemned, and religious missionaries, whom all of us respect, in their proper places, were proposed to be invested with political function, and *to be educated* for politico-religious agents!

The substitution of this dangerous document for the excellent draft, is believed to have been the work of the Colonial Office, Sir Fowell Buxton having been ill and absent when the labours of his committee were wound up. The report, so altered, was published unusually late after the prorogation of parliament in 1837; and the disappointment of the philanthropists at its unexpected character

character was soon aggravated by the removal of Sir Andries Stockenström from his post. The connection of that removal with the corrupt character of the report is obvious, and both were fatal to African civilisation and to good Colonial government. The course pursued thenceforward by the Colonial Office, in regard to South Africa, betrayed the object of these sinister acts. How Sir Fowell Buxton was deceived, and prevailed upon to accept the miserable changeling for his own well-considered work, the original draft of the Aborigines' Committee's report, is one of the many secrets of the Colonial Office during the last thirty years, which it is vital to African civilisation to discover.

The recalled Lieutenant-Governor came at once to London, where his report of his own proceedings was so satisfactory that a baronetcy and a pension of seven hundred a year were given him in compensation for his removal.

The opponents, however, of this humane system, which had so eminently succeeded, were too strong for the more rational philanthropists. The Caffre treaties were gradually undermined. Parliament was for many years kept completely in the dark respecting the Cape. The Caffre chiefs in vain gave undeniable evidence of their excellent dispositions, and even of their power, in very difficult circumstances, to keep their people in order. On one occasion, when their frontier was stripped of our troops to settle difficulties provoked by gross impolicy beyond the Orange River, those chiefs observed their engagements with absolute fidelity.

During eight years, we persevered in thus abandoning our humane, well-understood course, and returned to what had produced the Caffre war of 1835. The result was the two more furious wars of 1846 and 1851, beyond all doubt attributable to that abandonment of such humane policy. After the outbreak of 1846, the Government reported the preceding eight years' transactions imperfectly to parliament; and the key to the greatest evils at this moment threatening the interior in the lawless progress of the two Anglo-Cape republics we have set up, lies hidden in the pigeon-holes of the Colonial Office. Governor after Governor had new schemes of managing Caffreland, over which they exercised the despotic rule of conquerors, and where they steadily reduced the chiefs to insignificance. At length, upon all sorts of pretexts, we have brought things in that unhappy region to extremities. Its chiefs are our prisoners in an island near Table Bay, and its people are either our labourers, or wanderers among the remoter tribes biding their day of vengeance. A volume might be filled with the details of a catastrophe disgraceful to us, the masters of South Africa, and fatal to the civilisation of its most interesting people, the Cape Caffres.

In the present year, another Caffre race, the Basootus, are fast

fast hurrying to the same end. Their chief, Moshesh, is still better disposed to moderate counsels than even the Tambookees—a fact the more worthy of notice, as his people are not only far more powerful than the other Caffre tribes, but he has proved the formidable character of his forces by at least a drawn battle with General Cathcart, whose indiscretion—extraordinary even for a South African Governor—forced the unwilling African into hostilities for which we were but ill prepared. The superior qualities of Moshesh may be accounted for. During thirty years he has had the benefit of the example and precepts of a body of French Protestant missionaries, of rare attainments, whom it is not disrespectful to our Moffatts and Livingstones of the present day, or to the very best of their predecessors, to designate as the equals of those eminent men. The conduct of these French missionaries in the midst of extreme difficulties, caused by the impolicy of the Governor of the Cape, and by the violent proceedings of the republicans of the interior, separated from our colony by that impolicy, has been marked by the greatest prudence. Hence, doubtless, the naturally moderate course of the chief who protects them has been much encouraged. But in a volume of travels in South Africa, published a few years ago by MM. Arbousset and Daumas, two of those French missionaries, may be read an account of the preceding chief, Motlume,* still more explanatory of a character so much entitled to our consideration. Motlume passed his life in 'doing good;' he was the general reconciler of dissensions among his people, and the protector and benefactor of orphans and widows; circumstances, be it said without irreverence, that bring that ignorant African prince within no remote resemblance to the holiest of Christian examples. Nor is it to be objected, that the worthy missionaries have here repeated a vague fiction. They expressly state the way in which they were enabled to report these interesting facts. Upon asking the chief Moshesh some details respecting the past history of his tribe, he sent them to its official 'historiographer,' whose especial duty it was to collect and preserve such memorials of the past, as the Bards, the Scalds, or the repeaters of the Homeric poems might have been referred to in order to satisfy a curious traveller in Britain, in Scandinavia, or in Greece. The identity of such intellectual occupations among the Africans with our own, is assuredly a strong corroboration of other evidences of their general identity with us. With what indignation, then, do we learn, that these Basootus, ready as they are to receive the best of missionaries, as well as to share their lands upon reasonable terms with us their Christian neighbours, and headed as they are by men of high intelligence

* A translation of this book was published in Aberdeen.

and

and of peaceful desires, should be unceasingly harassed by the white people from the Cape, whom our Government has actually refused to control! The Governors of the Cape have dealt with Moshesh and the Basootus as if they were outlaws. One of those Governors, Sir H. Smith, proclaimed their lands to be British, without any pretence of their being legally acquired. Another, General Cathcart, assumed illegal authority over them without even power to maintain it. And the present Governor, adopting the hostility of the Colonial Office to the conciliatory system suppressed upon the Caffre frontier, states that he has 'no desire to make TREATIES with native chiefs.'*

This avowal, taken along with this Governor's discouragement of the Caffre chiefs so early as on the *third* month of his arrival at the Cape, and with the terrible sufferings he has since inflicted upon them, reveals the scheme of coercive policy set up twenty years ago against the judicious and philanthropic plans so successfully carried out by Sir Andries Stockenström, with strong parliamentary approval. The case is even stronger, and ought to be probed to the bottom in all its bearings.

This Governor arrived at his post in December, 1854; and on the 22nd of that month writes home that he has framed a new plan of border administration of a most extraordinary character, to the execution of which he asks a contribution from home of 40,000*l.* annually for ten years, to which the Cape colony is to add 5,000*l.* a year, as they willingly might. With this ample draft upon Whitehall to set up with, the new Cape Governor proposes, with a *fortnight's* knowledge of South Africa, to set all right in that vast region of social volcanoes, into which Parliament had already thrown at least five millions sterling, not to this day fully audited. Before Parliament meets, namely, by a despatch dated the 3rd of February, 1855, our Secretary of State for the Colonies approves this hasty plan of the Cape Governor. If the papers containing the details are correct copies of those despatches from us to the colony, such quick work upon a grave subject would appear incredible. As it is, the only explanation admissible is, that the new plan professed to be sent from Cape Town so rapidly after the Governor's inauguration in his post was taken out with him from Downing Street. The honoured name of Lord John Russell is affixed to the hasty approval of this hastily-announced scheme; and it is due to his Lordship to pause until he shall throw some light upon this transaction. In some sense it has become matter of history. The present ministers have cut down the 40,000*l.* this session to 20,000*l.*, and it is understood that next year the whole subsidy will be struck off.

* Despatch of 27th September. Papers presented to Parliament in August, 1857.

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The sums already given to the Governor of the Cape are not unimportant, and should be accounted for more carefully than has hitherto been found convenient. But it is the execution of the plans ending in the imprisonment of so many of the neighbouring chiefs, that call for the most rigorous scrutiny. That a colonial governor should, in his character of high commissioner of the interior adjacent to the colony, be able to bring the chiefs of that interior into the colonial prisons, and attack their people by a combination of colonial forces with the power and money intrusted to him by the British Parliament, is serious enough. But if, as is in the highest degree probable in this case, the colonial governor should turn out to be a mere instrument in the hands of those who, under the influence of false opinions, have perverted the best designs of philanthropy, and the most solemn acts of Parliament for twenty years together, the importance of the truth of the whole matter cannot be exaggerated. It is in this light a strong call is made for a solemn inquest as to Cape aborigines' affairs for the last four years.

There has been a war of aggression lately made upon Moshesh by our republicans of what is called the 'Free State,' which the Cape Governor, Sir Harry Smith, extended so summarily into that chief's territory. He has met their shameful advance with a dignity and a moderation worthy of all honour, and they have failed in their attempt under the most disgraceful circumstances. Nevertheless, sympathisers with them are not wanting from Cape Town to Natal, where, against all the evidence of the case, a body of men have boldly declared that the barbarous tribes of South Africa are forming a league for the indulgence of their hatred of civilisation!

Here, then, a stand must be made. Another league of older date is formed by the white men against the blacks, and for the nefarious purpose of getting the natives' lands after crushing them. We have succeeded in so mastering Caffreland and Tambookeeland, as the Dutch before us had mastered the Hottentots and seized their country. We are steadily pressing onwards upon other tribes to the east for the same object. A force of 1,200 white men was sent by the Free State against Moshesh, and five times that number from the older republic in the interior are ready to second that attack. And it is under such circumstances that our Governor at the Cape really takes part with the aggressors, by letting them get supplies of war at will, and by refusing such supplies to the natives, or even to treat with the latter upon a just footing. We enthusiastically support Dr. Livingstone in his heroic enterprises in the remote interior of Southern Africa, where the *chiefs* appreciate his sublime efforts for their improvement; and he wisely seeks to benefit their people by respecting them.

How

How grossly inconsistent is it, close at our own doors, to put forth our gigantic strength to destroy the very same class, eager as they are to adopt our civilisation and share its advantages! The pitiable story of some of those chiefs would be an apt topic for the ablest pens. Already, in the case of Macomo and his beautiful daughter, their misery has touched more than one feeling heart among our rude soldiery. Slaughter on the field of battle would be as the blessing of paradise to that unhappy man in his Cape dungeon, who thirty years ago told an English traveller that his only wish was to be able to write a book, and show the Christian world his country's wrongs. Parrot-like we repeat the indignant remonstrances which Tacitus put into the mouth of our own barbarous ancestor, when a prisoner in Rome, and forget that we are daily tolerating the same oppressions to be done upon black men as good as Galgacus or Caractacus.

The stand to be made in favour of African civilisation is simply to undo what is now doing ill, and to revive and extend whatever has been done well wherever we have power in Africa. For example, in the south, which, with the proper observance of peculiarities may stand for every other similar region:—

An end must be put to the present mystery in Cape affairs by having full accounts of them speedily laid before Parliament;

The imprisoned chiefs must be released, and their country restored to them;

Treaties must be made with all the tribes;

More and more white settlements must be made by compacts with the coloured people, and upon a just system of compensation and union;

The two interior republics on this side and beyond the Vaal River must be invited to reunite themselves to the crown;

And commissions of inquiry must be despatched on all of these objects, and on every proper means of aboriginal civilisation.

The foundation of white settlements, in harmony with the natives, has been assumed, without real grounds, to be a vain attempt to bring incompatible members of society together. On the contrary, millions of men, of every variety of refinement, do consort together in perfect peace in all regions, and have done so for ages. It is only, then, incumbent upon the Government to keep the peace among them, and to leave them at freedom to settle their differences according as they can, without concerning itself about their abstract aptitudes. The wants of the coloured people, and their eagerness to enjoy the several advantages of civilisation, will always dispose them to make reasonable cession of lands not needful for themselves; and the modern application of the practice of appropriating wild lands at a price, furnishes a convenient

convenient means of compensating them for such tracts as they will gladly alienate.

The reunion of the two Cape republics, now established in the interior, to the crown, is perhaps the most difficult object of South African policy; but that reunion is of extreme urgency in reference to the safety and civilisation of the native tribes. The easier task will be to effect a reunion with the Free State, or Orange River sovereignty, now at war with Moshesh. Its practicability is obvious in the loudly-declared wishes of many of its inhabitants, Cape-Dutch, Dutch, and English. The proclamation of its independence of the crown, without the authority of an Act of Parliament, is believed by good lawyers to have been as illegal as would be a ministerial cession of Yorkshire or the Isle of Wight to France. But there is no doubt of the impropriety of that severance of British territory and of the acquiescence in a second republic of British subjects adjacent to the Cape Colony.

As to the more remote republic of our fellow-subjects recognised by ministers, beyond the Vaal River, they must be dealt with more carefully. But so many powerful motives exist for their changing their present disturbed state, that trustworthy overtures to them will assuredly be received with satisfaction. The free constitution now set up in the Cape Colony, if properly explained to the republicans, will go far to reconcile them to us, and help the settlement of other grave points of difference with our Government.

The choice of the only person living fit to negociate this grave measure of civilisation in South Africa, Sir Andries Stockenström, to carry it out, will be a guarantee to its success.

The appointment of periodical commissions of inquiry will be the crowning step to secure its results and give it permanence. The uses of such commissions in all quarters will not be limited to the collection of correct intelligence and the suggestion of good measures, but they will conciliate all parties with whom the commissioners will regularly communicate.

Great names might be added to Mr. Pitt's and Mr. Burke's in the catalogue of those who have been the best friends to Africa. Some of the oldest of our contemporaries were witnesses to and sharers in the gigantic efforts of our fathers to win the prize of her freedom. The Broughams and the Lushingtons have not assuredly deserted the path worn bare by the Clarksons, the Granville Sharps, the Wilberforces, and the Buxtons, their friends of another generation. They will approve of even this feeble call for help where help is sorely needed; and they know well how to strengthen this feeble call so as to compel Ministers to be just where they are now unjust; to be awake where they are

now

now asleep; merciful where they are cruel; and where they are now by their own gross ignorance exposed to deception, to be equal to their duties by acquiring the knowledge belonging to their eminent posts.

ART. VI.—1. *Permanent American Temperance Documents.* New York. American Temperance Union.
2. *The Maine Law.* Adopted by the Legislature of the State of Maine. 1851.
3. *Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Portland Riot.* Portland. 1855.
4. *Alliance Weekly News.* United Kingdom Alliance, Manchester. Tweedie, London.

'THE law,' said JUDGE PLATT of the United States, in 1833, 'which licenses the sale of ardent spirits is an impediment to the temperance reformation. Whenever public opinion and the moral sense of our community shall be so far corrected and matured, as to regard them in their true light, and when the public safety shall be thought to require it, dram-shops will be *indictable at common law as public nuisances.*'

On the 8th July, 1856, at Rockport, Massachusetts, some two hundred women assembled, and, proceeding to several places where intoxicating liquor was sold, entered by force, and destroyed the liquors they found. The owner at once set in motion the machinery of law to punish these daring violators of the sanctity of property. The defendants pleaded that their acts were justifiable, inasmuch as liquors kept for sale *were by statute of* 1855 *declared to be common nuisances*, and as such could be abated by the destruction of such liquors.

In charging the jury, CHIEF-JUSTICE SHAW said, 'Two acts of the year 1855 (ch. 215, § 37, and ch. 405, § 1) have been cited and relied on. By the first of these, all intoxicating liquors kept for sale, and the implements and vessels actually used, are declared common nuisances. By the latter, "all buildings, places, or tenements used as houses of ill fame, resorted to for prostitution, lewdness, or for illegal gaming, or used for the illegal sale or keeping of intoxicating liquors, are hereby declared common nuisances, and are to be regarded and treated as such." ' And carefully pointing out the high responsibility attached to the enjoyment of such a right, and the great caution required in its exercise, the learned judge proceeded:—'All persons have a right to abate a public nuisance. As in cases cited by the defendants, individuals may cut down a gate erected in a highway, or destroy a bridge

a bridge thrown over navigable waters, I am of opinion, *that if liquors are kept illegally for sale, they with the implements of trade having been declared by law a public nuisance, any person may destroy them.*'

The interval of twenty-two years occurring between these two remarkable legal dicta, is the period to which we invite the brief attention of our readers with reference to the temperance movement in America.

Some years before any general effort was made in the same direction in Great Britain, the attention of American philanthropists was forcibly called to the necessity of offering some check to the advance of popular intemperance. An annual temperance sermon had been preached at Boston, and even so far back as 1815, Dr. JUSTIN EDWARDS, then pastor of a church at Andover, promulgated to his congregation the doctrine of abstinence. It was not, however, until March, 1826, that the American Temperance Society issued its manifesto. The executive committee consisted of Dr. LEONARD WOODS, Dr. JUSTIN EDWARDS, and Messrs. TAPPAN, ODIORNE, and WILDER. The doctrine enforced, or, as an American would say, the 'platform' adopted by this society, was 'total abstinence from ardent spirits;' and for some years a marvellous success attended its operation. But at last, impelled by the same necessity which urged, at a later period, our British temperance reformers to the same conclusion, and finding that cider, wine, or beer would do and was doing the work of ardent spirits—drawing back their reclaimed ones, and striking down their young and promising coadjutors—the Society inscribed upon their banner the new motto of 'TOTAL ABSTINENCE FROM ALL THAT CAN INTOXICATE.' Notwithstanding the immense and immediate results attendant on this advance, it soon, however, became evident that there were difficulties to encounter, which early enthusiasm had not foreseen. Temptation presented to an inflamed appetite was stronger than moral precept. This temptation was sanctioned by law, and presented under the protection of a license from the state.

Thus, early in the history of the American temperance reform, the reports of the society abound in denunciation of the traffic, and in declarations of its immorality. Before long, men of practical sense perceived that the traffic would never be beaten down if it were assailed with no more powerful missiles than hard words. They saw that there was a limit beyond which moral suasion *could not* operate, and, taking a wise and statesmanlike view of the nature and objects of law, they resolved to arm themselves with its power, and so push the attack with greater safety and success. Mustering a few regiments, the leaders gave the word of advance into the battle-field of politics.

In

In Great Britain, especially in England, the administration of the laws relating to the licensing of public-houses has been confided to magistrates appointed by the crown, and therefore altogether free from popular control. In America, the magistrates being elected by the people, some popular supervision has always been exercised over their decisions. In some states, still more direct reference to the will of the people has been made in the license laws. In Rhode Island, and Vermont, and subsequently in New York, a direct vote of the people of a district, and even of a state decided on the granting of licenses. Hence the first and obvious application of legal power to the suppression of intemperance in America was a vote for 'no license.' In 1832, this policy triumphed in some of the districts of Massachusetts and rapidly spread. In 1834, several counties of the state adopted it. In Suffolk, licenses were reduced from 613 to 314; in Hampshire, from 83 to 8; in Plymouth and Bristol, no licenses at all were given. Connecticut and Vermont both tested the people every year, the latter state especially giving repeated majorities against the granting of licenses,—in 1847, the vote being 13,707 *for* license, and 21,793 *against*. In New York itself, in 1845, the vote cast was—*pro*, 111,884; *contra*, 177,683, four-fifths of the cities and towns being *against* licenses. The results attendant on this policy were abundantly encouraging. Barnstaple and Duke Counties, in Massachusetts, at once freed themselves from public-houses, paupers, and criminals; and in one town, where to a population of 7000 there had been 469 paupers, 11 only, after four years of no license, remained chargeable to the commonwealth. In Ontario County, New York, the vote of 1845 found the inmates of the gaol 125. The operation of that vote, during 1846, reduced the number to 53. In Gennessee County, the result was even more favourable.

But although this guerilla warfare was in many cases successful, the leaders soon discovered it was exhausting. The recurrence, year by year, of a struggle so vital, and at the same time so unrelenting, disheartened the combatants, who felt as though their victory could never be secure. Side issues frequently introduced themselves to complicate the vote, and it was but rarely that the atmosphere of politics was sufficiently quiescent to allow the voice of the people to be distinctly heard on this question alone. Notwithstanding the blessed results in some districts, the small area affected deprived them of any startling effect, while the facilities for smuggling and evasion were of course considerable. Hence, very early in the 'no-license' agitation the temperance men of America sought to gain *additional* legal powers from the legislature. In 1838, for example, Tennessee enacted a law prohibiting *all* sale in quantities less than one

one quart; and Massachusetts adopted 15 gallons as the smallest measure. In 1839, Mississippi enacted a one-gallon law, while Illinois granted power to towns and counties to *suppress* the retail traffic on petition from a majority of adult male inhabitants. In the mean time, constant efforts were put forth to avoid the difficulties and disadvantages of these constant fluctuations, by procuring a final state enactment which should at once decide the policy of that government. It was sought to gather up and consolidate into one law, which should not be liable to change and agitation, the various expressions of popular sentiment which, in the shape of county or city laws, were floating about in almost every state in the union. MAINE was the first state to accomplish this; whence all laws prohibiting the traffic in strong drink have come to be designated 'Maine Laws.' Our space being necessarily limited, we propose, in our present article, to confine ourselves to an investigation of the fortunes of the Maine Law agitation in its parent state.

In February, 1837, a committee of the legislature of the state of Maine presented a report founded on numerous petitions, and framed a prohibitory bill. This bill was rejected by the legislature. The idea had not originated, however, with the members of the government, but with the people; and the people were determined to give their idea a practical embodiment. In 1840, they elected a legislature which passed the rejected law, but only to be vetoed by the governor. It was not until 1846 that the temperance men of Maine succeeded in placing *on their statute-book* a prohibitive law, and this in a very imperfect form. The opponents of the law, though not strong enough to prevent its enactment, were able to deface it. In its passage through the legislature, it had received many clippings and much pressure, so that on its emergence the original shape and structure could hardly be recognised.

Whatever may be said in defence of the principle involved in such legislation, its friends admit that a law intended to restrain a violent and often uncontrollable appetite must more than any other be liable to evasion. Especially is this the case with an appetite so *peculiar* as the drink appetite. Stimulation and not satiety is, in it, the consequence of indulgence. The presence of temptation rouses it to ceaseless activity. The ravenous and irresistible monster can never be lulled into inactivity, or quietened by gratification. Nothing but absolute starvation can destroy it. The mere interposition of *difficulty* can be but of very limited advantage. The appetite, excited by the presence of temptation, constantly overleaps the difficulty. Making no provision for such a state of things, the Maine Law of 1846 was undoubtedly a failure. It professed to prohibit, but the machinery

chinery it employed was radically defective. The old apparatus of heavy fines was supposed to possess sufficient terrors. The real source of the mischief—the drink—inflamed the desire of its victims, and they were content to render the trade so profitable that the payment of a fine upon detection was no great hardship upon the seller. The trade was carried on, secretly if possible, but still with its usual results. The snake was 'scotched, not killed.'

The temperance men of the state, however, speedily discovered their mistake, and set about devising some modification which should enable them to work their new machine without the unfortunate hitch. The people were by a large majority in favour of an efficient prohibition. Interested parties struggled with this public sentiment in vain. The elections of 1849 were decisive, and in 1851, the law which has been accepted as the 'pattern' law of prohibition was adopted by the state of Maine. The debates were excited and protracted. It was urged that the law was undesirable because it would be evaded; that evasion would generate contempt; that it could not prevent the offence it sought to prohibit and would therefore be useless. To this it was replied, that all laws are unfortunately evaded, this being rather the fault of the executive power than of the law; that there were laws against theft, and yet convictions for larceny; that in fact, unless there were a tendency to commit the offence, and therefore a tendency to endeavour to evade the law, the law itself would be needless. The opponents of the law took their stand on the principle of regulation, declaring that although unable to prevent, they might hope to restrain. Its supporters rested their arguments on the ultimate principle that the law of a state should seek to embody the public virtue of a state, and not to tamper with public vices; that regulation or license of the traffic in strong drink involved, in every case where license was granted, sanction and protection; that it was manifestly opposed to all principles of sound policy for the state to sanction or protect the demoralisation of the people and the impoverishment of the commonwealth. They claimed a trial of the law they proposed, asserting their conviction that it would be found as thoroughly effective as any of the other laws in the statute-book.

The majority in both houses indicated the prevalent feeling. The law was carried by a vote in the House of Representatives of eighty-six to forty, and in the senate by eighteen to ten.

It is not our intention, nor would the space at our disposal allow us to follow the progress of similar legislation in other states of the Union. Several adopted the policy of Maine *during the same year.* We append to this article a tabular account of the vicissitudes and present position of the law in all the states which have

have at any time adopted it. To this we ask the attention of any readers who may be interested in the inquiry, and for the present pursue our relation of the course of events in MAINE alone.

The Maine Law of 1851 differed greatly from that of 1846 in efficiency, but very slightly in form. It permitted the apparatus of the traffic to be received as evidence, just as the implements of the coiner or gambler are, and it conferred upon the officers charged with its enforcement the power to *destroy*, on proper investigation, *the liquor itself* wherever found illegally for sale. It is worthy of note that in every law which has been found efficient these apparently unimportant provisions have been included. The reason, if the previous argument has been clearly stated, will at once occur to the reader. The temptation being *destroyed*, the appetite is quiescent, and the *reason*, even of the most slavish inebriate, approves the effort making for his salvation. The law of 1851 was respected because decisive; obeyed because prompt and vigorous. Evasion, although in some cases successfully attempted, was not frequent, because the instrument left by the law of 1846 in the hands of the traffickers to provoke a desire to evade—the drink itself—was absolutely removed.

The Hon. Neal Dow, who had been the leader of the temperance party and framer of the new law, was, at the time of its passage, mayor of Portland. He at once proceeded to enforce its provisions. It was not unforeseen by the temperance men that the extreme tension of party feeling could not be altogether maintained; that reaction must be anticipated after so signal a success. They were anxious to maintain their law in its popularity by rendering its operation as mild and moderate as possible. Mr. Dow was a man of other mould. He, too, foresaw a coming relaxation in public enthusiasm, but he believed it better to exhibit to the world one year of efficient enforcement of the law than to secure a longer tenure of less energetic administration. 'Let us,' said he, 'show the people what *can* be done with the law. Let us write on the history of our city, in characters of living light, a lesson which may show what a year of prohibition really is.' This task he accomplished. The House of Correction at Portland, which contained during the year prior to the passage of the law of 1851, and under that of 1846, seventy-four drunken persons, speedily became too large for its occupants. The new law went into force under Mr. Dow's auspices in June 1851. From that period to the 16th of October the committals for drunkenness were eight. From October to January NONE.

On the 15th June, 1852, the house was reported EMPTY. Of course such a decrease of intemperance exhibited itself also in the criminal calendar. Drink is the great crime-producer. An agent which constantly disorganises the brain, destroying the physical

organ through which alone, by some mysterious working, *reason* exhibits itself—which depresses that reason and raises into activity *appetite* as the then governing power of the actions of the citizen—must always be an agent dangerous to the state and subversive of public order and government. Such an agent is alcohol, and such results are produced by the common trade in alcohol. Its suppression in Portland exhibited the natural consequence. Instead of 192 cases of petty larceny, Mr. Dow found himself compelled to adjudicate on thirty-one only during his year of office; and the reports of the police declared that 'there was little use for a body of police or night watchmen, because, with very few exceptions, there was good order everywhere in the streets.'

Throughout the state, although no other administration so vigorous as Mr. Dow's might be found, similar, if not so extensive triumphs were achieved. At BANGOR, such was the effect on the poverty of the community that the cultivation of the workhouse farm necessitated the employment of hired labourers, there being no paupers. At Augusta, the police, who, according to the statement of the mayor, were usually called out a hundred nights in the year, 'during the six first months of the operation of the law' had not been required once.

It was only to be expected that a strenuous resistance would be offered to Mr. Dow's re-election as mayor of Portland. The energy of the 'rum party,' bound up as it was with all the interests of selfishness and incitements of appetite, knew no abatement; while the lethargy consequent on the achievement of victory after a long struggle began to creep over the friends of temperance. Withal, however, the opposition could only succeed in substituting the name of Mr. Cahoon—a Maine Law man of more pliable material—for that of Mr. Dow. But even under his feebler administration the law continued to be productive of benefit, and rapidly established itself in the affections of the people. Of course evasions were not altogether unfrequent—the varying energies of the authorities of different districts enforcing the law with vigour, or suffering it to relapse into disuse. The constantly-changing circumstances of the population of all American cities, and the rapid influx of new inhabitants, tended to undermine the fabric which Mr. Dow had erected. In course of time, too, the courage which had been cowed, revived, and the traffickers associated themselves together for purposes of resistance. But through all, *the people* remained firm, public disorder in no case followed the enforcement of the law; it was not only submitted to, but respected and valued. The opponents of the law persistently originated reports of its failure; and at the very time of its most beneficent and *undoubted* results, the same rumour, almost in the same words, which has recently become famous, was industriously circulated.

circulated. A document is before us, dated Portland, October 1853, signed by Mr. Cahoon, mayor, and 435 of the leading citizens, expressly framed to contradict the assertion, 'that more was sold and drunk than ever,' and that 'there was more intemperance than at any previous time for twenty years.'

Thus, with alternating fortune, the temperance party stood by their strong position. With more or less efficiency, the law remained upon the statute-book. We shall have a word to say presently about the legal difficulties which in Maine, as well as in other states, obstructed its operation. It must now suffice to state, that at last, in 1855, a successful rally again placed Mr. Dow in office as mayor of Portland. It was during this, his second term of office, that one of those unforeseen disasters occurred which occasionally test the courage and calmness of public men. The law of which we have been speaking, while prohibiting the common sale of liquors, empowered the municipal authorities to establish city agents, paying them by salary, who should sell for medicinal, manufacturing, and other lawful purposes. In order to supply these agents, the authorities purchased a stock of liquors, which were deposited in the city hall. Mr. Dow's enemies, who had long endeavoured to weaken his influence, circulated a report that he had himself commenced business as a liquor-seller on a large scale, and was violating his own law by keeping liquors unlawfully in his possession. A warrant was at once obtained, and the liquors seized by the proper officer. A judicial investigation of course cleared Mr. Dow from every imputation; but before the trial, and ostensibly to secure the due administration of the law, a mob assembled, and ultimately proceeding to riot, sought to gain admission to the city hall and to obtain possession of the liquors there deposited. The danger became imminent, since, if they had succeeded in their attempt, the rioters would probably have rushed into frightful excesses. The mayor, Mr. Dow, as the chief officer of the city, at once took steps to restore public order. The riot act was read; the military called out; blank cartridges fired; but in vain. At last, with great reluctance, orders were given to fire with ball. Several of the mob were wounded: one man was killed. The judicial inquiry into these circumstances, and the verdict of the coroner's jury, a second time vindicated Mr. Dow; but all concerned regarded these sad events as most untoward and disastrous. Anything like a popular resistance to the law the Portland riot *was not;* but it is easy to conceive how potent a weapon it became in the hands of the opponents for the elections of 1855, just then imminent. It was in these elections that the friends of the Maine Law in Maine suffered their most serious reverse.

The American appetite for politics is very keen. The numerous

party names, and the constant and ever-new subdivisions of party, which perplex the European reader of the American press, indicate the analytical subtlety with which the Yankee mind pursues its favourite excitement. The unexpected hostilities or coalitions which are thus daily arising, render it almost, if not absolutely impossible, to predict the future of American politics for even a single year. We could not undertake, even were it needful, to explain to our readers the distinctions between 'hard shells' and 'softs,' 'straight,' and 'hunker whigs.' It must suffice for our present purpose to recall to remembrance the two great parties into which American politicians are divided, viz., Republican and Democrat. The Whigs, and after a meteoric course of success, the Knownothings, though still a numerous body, may be disregarded in the consideration of the circumstances we are about to describe. The distinctions between the Republicans and the Democrats are radical. At the last presidential election, our readers will remember, Colonel Fremont represented one of these parties while Mr. Buchanan was the nominee of the other. Irrespective of general policy, on the great American difficulty, the two parties hold opposite views. The Republican party is anti-slavery; the Democratic sympathises with the feelings of the southern states. As may be supposed, the majority of temperance men belong to the Republican party—slavery and rum are too intimately associated to be dissevered in politics. Rum figures largely in the slave traffic as a 'medium of exchange,' and avenges outraged humanity by binding the 'superior race' in a still more abject bondage than that of the chain and the lash. Hence, it being rarely possible to present to the people for their vote a temperance issue, uncomplicated with other party considerations, the temperance party in Maine and in other states has generally shared in the vicissitudes of the Republican party. Of course all Republicans are not temperance men; some are purely and selfishly politicians; and there have been instances in which, having used their votes, the Republican politicians have looked indifferently on the claims of the friends of sobriety. But this has always been disastrous to them. So important to the Republican party is its temperance strength, that any serious alienation, as in New York, has uniformly resulted in crushing defeat.

The elections of 1855, in Maine, were disastrous. The Nebraska question was in full discussion. The Republican party had to contend with all the difficulties of that excitement, as well as with a combined opposition from the opponents of the Maine Law, supported by unlimited funds from those interested in the strong drink trade in Boston and New York. The opportunity was too favourable to be missed. It was seized, and nothing was omitted which could secure a victory. To the House of Representatives

Representatives were elected 61 Republicans, 69 Democrats, and 21 Whigs.

In the contest for governor, the relative strength of the parties was more completely tested. Mr. Morrill (the previous governor, a Republican and thorough Maine-Law man,) obtained 51,000 votes; Mr. Wells (Democrat and anti-Maine Law) 48,000; and Mr. Reed (a Whig, and neutral on temperance) 11,000. Mr. Morrill's votes showed no diminution in republican strength. It was a larger vote than had ever been polled for a candidate for the governorship at any state election in Maine before. It was, as will be seen, a *numerical majority*, but according to the constitution of the state of Maine, this was insufficient. A *plurality* of votes was needful to render the popular decision available. The Whig candidate went to the poll in order to neutralise some republican support, and the *ruse* was successful. Mr. Morrill's votes did not equal those of Mr. Wells and Mr. Reed *together*. The election of governor was therefore remitted to the legislature for decision. A glance at the constitution of that body will prepare our readers to anticipate the selection of Mr. Wells.

The Democratic party now in power found themselves, however, in some difficulty as regarded the 'Maine Law.' Several of its successful candidates had declared that their object was not a repeal of that law, but at the most such a modification of it as should obviate its most stringent, and, as they said, its oppressive features. They thus lulled into apathy the alarm of some of the temperance men who were less earnest, or who were subject, as the Americans say, to 'democratic proclivities.' Six months elapsed before they sought to interfere with the law. At last Mr. Barnes, a Whig senator, introduced a bill which, repealing the Maine Law, substituted a system of license so stringent, that, with the efficient enforcement and popular respect universally accorded to law in this country, it would be thought almost, in practical effect, equivalent to prohibition.

The democratic conscience as regards the good faith of those we have alluded to, was appeased by the insertion of a clause that 'No person should keep a drinking-house or tippling-shop within the state.' But this clause was truly a 'dead letter.' The results of the change were immediate, and whatever may be the difficulty of obtaining full and reliable statistical information as to the facts of prohibition, on these the testimony is unanimous. Drunkenness again prevailed; crime rapidly increased; and all the evils attendant on a thriving trade in rum again desolated the state. Our space forbids us quoting testimony. But perhaps as decisive a proof as can be found, that the repeal of the law was neither in accordance with public sentiment in Maine nor justified by experience, was presented by the elections of the following year,

1856. After his term of office, Governor Wells was indignantly rejected by an adverse majority of no less than 20,000 votes. This defeat, which crushed out the democratic party in Maine, placed the whole power in the state in the hands of the friends of the Maine Law. But it was not immediately re-enacted.

The necessity for close party coherence in the struggle of that year, and the absorbing interests of the anti-slavery question, pending the presidential election upon which that vote would operate, undoubtedly overshadowed the temperance issue. It was said that a tacit understanding had been arrived at, that the Maine Law re-enactment should be held in abeyance. The temperance leaders at once repudiated any such understanding, but declared that rather than incur even an accusation of bad faith, they would postpone their intentions until the wishes of the people could be still further ascertained at another election. This forbearance was amply justified in the result. The majority of 1857 was even more triumphant than that of 1856. The governor, Mr. Morrill, was returned by a majority of 12,800; the members of the House of Representatives being 115 Republicans to 36 Democrats, while in the Senate only *one* Democrat obtained a seat.

At this election the re-enactment of the Maine Law was distinctly in issue. Many of those who had opposed it previously, now openly registered their votes in its favour, avowing that the terrible results of the license experiment had satisfied them that the safety of the state was involved in the final adoption of prohibition as the policy of Maine.

A committee was appointed at once, to draw up a draft of a law which should satisfy the demand of the people, and redeem the pledges of the legislature. This law was thoroughly discussed and adopted in April of the present year. The vote in the House of Representatives was 103 to 36, in the Senate *there was only one dissentient voice.* The Democrats seem to have voted to a man.

It will be seen, on comparison of these figures with those of the vote by which the original Maine Law was carried in 1851, as given at the commencement of this article, how steady, in the midst of all vicissitudes, had been the progress of the question towards a decisive settlement. The law, as carried, was declared to come into operation on the 15th July, 1858, provided it was accepted by the direct vote of the people. This direct issue was accordingly submitted to the citizens in June, and resulted in a vote of 28,864 for Prohibition, and 5,912 for license. THE MAINE LAW IS THEREFORE RE-ESTABLISHED IN MAINE BY THE DIRECT VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

It is true the number voting on this issue does not represent more than one-third of the entire number of voters. It is, however, much larger

larger than has ever, save in election contests, been polled before on any public question in Maine. The Democrats, anticipating an exposure of weakness, announced their intention to abstain from voting. The vote was taken in the midst of the field operations of the country population, who, thus relieved from the dread of defeat or even of opposition, felt no pressure of necessity to leave their occupations, and travel eight or ten miles to the nearest polling-booth. It is said, however, that had the entire votes of the state been taken, the relative proportions, as actually cast, would not have been materially altered. Since the vote, a sort of underground rumble has proceeded from democratic quarters, threatening terrible destruction at the elections of the present month. Whether the volcano is extinct, or whether an irruption will overwhelm the labours of the last few months, remains to be seen. We share in the confidence of the temperance men of Maine, so far as the social and political condition of America justifies any confidence at all in her social and political stability.

We have thus briefly recited our tale, thinking it may be useful in this country, plainly and simply to answer the question, 'WHAT IS the Maine Law agitation in America, and what has been done in its behalf?' Its history will not be found as fully recorded as could be wished in documents, but it is written in enduring characters upon political parties, and expresses a meaning of vital significance to the intelligent inquirer. Still, we do not recommend our readers to draw hasty conclusions from American experience. The causes which obstruct social reforms in America, and which especially operate as difficulties in the way of such legislation as we have been discussing, are peculiar, and have no representatives in the circumstances of our own country. American disaster, past or future, need not dismay British prohibitionists. America should be used more as an illustration of what may be accomplished under great disadvantage, than as a final authority for European politicians.

Take a few of the most prominent of these peculiar difficulties. Who has not heard of the British constitution? Who has seen a copy of it? The mystic growth of centuries has no palpable existence. In the United States it is far otherwise. Not more than one generation has passed away since the sovereignty of the people was appealed to, to ratify the conditions of the social compact under which the American Republic has grown up. Washington, and Jefferson, and Franklin are almost remembered by the present busy crowd which throngs Broadway, or the idlers who lounge at Saratoga. Not only are the terms of the federal union which binds together the various elements of that mighty power thoroughly understood and rigidly defined, but each state having for

for the regulation of its own internal affairs its own independent government, has limited by a written constitution the powers of each department of that government. Thus there are certain fundamental principles declared by the sovereignty of the people to be inviolable—the extent of the judicial authority is explicitly limited, and the power of the legislature strictly confined within certain bounds. The vehement outcry of 'unconstitutional' raised in America, therefore, by the opponents of any special legislation, is not without meaning. Re-echoed as it has been on this side the Atlantic, it is a mere 'cuckoo' cry. Here, the power of Parliament—of Crown, Lords, and Commons—is absolute. A law once passed by both houses, and having received the royal assent, becomes part and parcel of the 'Constitution,' and the only question for our courts of justice is, 'What is the law?' Our judges have great confidence reposed in their integrity, but they cannot over-ride, or repeal, or nullify an Act of Parliament. In America, the courts must not only decide as to the law applicable to any particular case, but may be called on to entertain the question, 'Is this law constitutional?' The supreme judicial authority of the state is thus practically invested with a repealing power, even after all constitutional forms of legislation have been complied with. As an illustration we may give the New York prohibitory law. That law, beneficently operative during the short period of its existence, was decided to be 'unconstitutional,' and therefore void, not on account of its object, but because in some of its provisions with regard to the confiscation of property, the legislature had exceeded the powers committed to it by the constitution of New York state. No such difficulty can arise here.

The separate existence of each state of the Union necessitates strict control of its relations to each other member of the federation. Thus, while internal government is the affair of each state, certain questions—as fiscal arrangements, exports, imports, foreign relations—are properly referred to the decision of the general congress of the states. With the exception of the 'Act for the Protection of the Indians,' congress has not prohibited the trade in strong drink. It allows its importation, and fixes the duties payable. Where a state has prohibited the trade so far as its own territory is concerned, a collision thus takes place between state law and congress law. This was a point early raised by the opponents of the temperance policy. Under the old 'no-license laws,' the difficulty was formidable. So far back as 1847 appeals were carried to the Supreme Court of the United States from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire (*vide* 5 Howard's Reports, 504). The remarks of the learned judges, although the immediate point under discussion is purely American, enunciate principles

principles of such general interest that we do not hesitate to make some brief extracts.

Chief Justice TANEY, in delivering judgment, said :—

'Although a state is bound to receive and permit the sale by the importer, of any article of merchandise which congress authorises to be imported, it is not bound to furnish *a market* for it, nor to abstain from the passage of any law which it may deem necessary or advisable to guard the health or morals of its citizens, although such law may discourage importation, or diminish the profits of the importer, or lessen the revenue of the government. And if any state deem the retail and internal traffic in ardent spirits injurious to citizens, and calculated to produce idleness, vice, or debauchery, I see nothing in the constitution of the United States to prevent it from regulating and restraining the traffic, or from prohibiting it altogether if it thinks proper.'

Mr. Justice MACLEAN concurred in the decision, and said :—

'If the foreign article be injurious to the health or the morals of the community, a state may, in the exercise of that great and comprehensive police power which lies at the foundation of its prosperity, prohibit the sale of it. The acknowledged police power of a state extends often to the destruction of property. A nuisance may be abated. Everything prejudicial to the health or morals of a city may be removed.'

Mr. Justice CATREN also agreed with the Chief Justice :—

'I admit, as inevitable, that if the state has the power of restraint by licenses to *any* extent, she has the discretionary power to judge of its limit, and may go to the length of *prohibiting it altogether*.'

Mr. Justice GRIER thus asserted both the right of prohibiting sale, and that of the seizure and destruction of property :—

'It is not necessary to array the appalling statistics of misery, pauperism, and crime, which have their origin in the use and abuse of ardent spirits. The police power, which is exclusively in the states, is *alone competent* to the correction of these great evils ; and *all measures of restraint or prohibition necessary to effect that purpose are within the scope of that authority*. All the laws for the restraint or punishment of crime, or the preservation of the public peace, health, and morals, are, from their very nature, of primary importance, and lie at the foundation of social existence. They are for the protection of life and liberty, and *necessarily compel all laws on subjects of secondary importance, which relate only to property, convenience, or luxury, to recede when they come in contact* or collision. SALUS POPULI SUPREMA LEX. The exigencies of the social compact require that such laws be executed before and above all others. It is for this reason that quarantine laws, which protect public health, compel mere commercial regulations to submit to their control. They restrain the liberty of the passengers; they operate on the ship, which is the instrument of commerce, and its officers and crew, the agents of navigation. They *seize* the infected cargo and cast it overboard. All these things are done, not from any power which the state assumes to regulate commerce or interfere with the regulations of congress, but because police laws for the prevention of crime and protection of public welfare must, of necessity, have full and free operation, *according to the exigency that requires their interference*.'

This question could arise only in a federal union, and this, refined into innumerable subtleties, still perplexes and harasses the temperance reformers of America.

It is the proud boast of the British citizen that the judges of his country are incorruptible. They occupy a seat far above the turmoil of political strife ; and though history records instances of degradation of the ermine, those times have long passed, and British

British law is administered with inflexible British justice. But it is one of the disadvantages of a democratic form of government—to a legal mind at all events—that the judges must be *elected* by the great sovereign people. In some of the states these judicial elections occur triennially; in some, we believe, as often as every year. Hence the judges too frequently resort to popular arts to secure votes; and where passion is strong, the unseemly spectacle is sometimes afforded of a judge seeking his own election as a violent political partisan, pledged *not* to enforce a law adopted by the state. It will easily be seen to what abuse this may tend, though it may be difficult to suggest a remedy.

Passing away, however, from these LEGAL points, difficulties of equal consideration present themselves in the social circumstances of the Americans. Europe has for many years drenched America with her surplus population, not always, it must be said, with her most industrious and thriving citizens. The United States census of 1850 intimates that the population of that republic had increased within sixty years, from 3,929,827, to 23,191,876, the preceding ten years showing more than *six millions* of this increase.

The rapidity with which population flows into the cities of the states is so startling, that the circumstances of a thriving community may be altered in a single year, and, without any change in the sentiments of the voters of one year, a decision arrived at be reversed in the next. The foreign population, with a few exceptions, is the source of the principal disorder in America. The Irish and German element, marshalled by fanaticism, led by priestcraft, or impelled by brutal passion, has become a recognised source of danger to the American commonwealth. The rapid development of the 'Knownothing' party was a result of political panic. The native American saw himself outvoted by a newly-arrived hodman, who, with hundreds of his fellows, was marching round to all the polling-booths and registering his vote at each. Droves of voters were conducted by some patriot to express their enlightened convictions on the future policy of the United States.

If the rolls of convictions under the Maine Law in that state, or any other, be consulted, the names of the offenders will be found to be almost exclusively Irish or German.

But to make matters worse, the municipal government of the cities, and especially of the great seaports, is to a large extent controlled by this population. The tide of immigration flowing through these ports leaves a sediment behind. Only the thrifty and the sober pass on into the west; the drunken and profligate settle down into the filth which stagnates in New York or Boston. The merchants are either too disgusted to interfere, or reside beyond the

the municipal boundary and cannot vote. Municipal anarchy is the result. In Boston and New York the Maine Law never was enforced by the municipal authorities, for the simple reason that they were elected to ignore it. It is clear, therefore, that American temperance reformers cannot have a fair chance so long as Europe overwhelms them with drunken emigrants.

But far above all these rises the huge obstruction of slavery, deadening the conscience and weakening the energy of the many, while it absorbs the undying philanthropy of the few. Not only must this vital question constantly override even the necessities of social reformation, but it benumbs the sense of rectitude and intensifies the selfishness of the whole people. With how mincing and tender a footstep is this great evil approached even among the citizens of the 'free states!' The chink of the immortal dollar is louder than the clang of the chain. The cord which binds the hands of the abolitionist senator is purchased on the Exchange at New York or Philadelphia. How can it be otherwise than that temperance should sometimes languish, and at times even seem to die, in such an atmosphere as this?

But we cannot boast much of our own superiority. The American palliates the crime of keeping in bondage his coloured brother, and urges the difficulties and dangers which must attend anything but a compromise with the wickedness. The Briton points proudly to the record on which is emblazoned, as the accomplished policy of his country, 'Total and unconditional emancipation;' but he shields with anxious devotion the vested interest of the brewer or the distiller, and declares the impossibility of attempting anything more than a regulation and restriction of the traffic which brutalises his fellow and stains his country with blood.

We cannot now pursue this subject further.

The following is a tabular statement of the progress and present position of the Maine Law agitation in all the states in which it has been at any time adopted.

PRESENT STATE OF NORTH AMERICA RELATIVE TO LEGISLATION AGAINST THE SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

UNITED STATES.

PROHIBITION *in full and satisfactory operation in the following of the United States.*

STATE.	Date of Law.	Area in Square Miles.	Population, 1850.	Representatives in Congress.	REMARKS.
Maine . . .	1851	35,000	583,169	6	First law, 1846; second, 1851; repealed, 1856; re-enacted, 1858.
Massachusetts .	1852	7,250	994,514	11	In this state, after much opposition, the law stands firm.
Rhode Island .	1852	1,200	147,545	2	Much obstructed at first; has since been improved, and is now in beneficent operation.
Vermont . .	1852	8,000	314,120	3	Adopted at the earliest date by unanimous acclamation. This law has always been effectively sustained.
Michigan . .	1853	56,243	397,564	4	The legal difficulties which at first obstructed this law have given way, the Supreme Court, with one dissentient voice, having pronounced the law constitutional. Not well enforced, however.
Connecticut . .	1854	4,750	370,792	4	After repeated efforts, this state rejoices in an effective administration of the law.
Delaware . .	1855	2,120	91,532	1	The first of the slave states to adopt prohibition.
Iowa . . .	1855	50,914	192,214	2	Ratified by a popular vote.
New Hampshire .	1855	9,280	317,976	3	Completing the list of New England states.

States in which PROHIBITION *is the law, but in which its operation has been impeded, or set on one side, by hostile legal decisions.*

STATE.	Date of Law.	Area in Square Miles.	Population, 1850.	Representatives in Congress.	REMARKS.
Indiana . . .	1855	33,809	988,416	11	Is practically useless, having been declared, in its present form, unconstitutional. The difficulty is, however, merely technical.
New York . .	1855	46,000	3,097,394	33	After six months of most beneficial operation the law has been decided to be unconstitutional. The points raised, of course, were purely technical and local: such as a collision between state and general law, the peculiar difficulty of a Federal Union, and the power given to the state constitution by the legislature as regards confiscation of property. The law will be amended, not repealed.
Minnesota (Territory).	1852	141,839	6,077	—	The Supreme Court decided that this law was unconstitutional, on the ground that it had been submitted to a direct vote of the people. The people, however, having sustained it by a large majority, the legislature has not repealed it.

In

In the following State PROHIBITION *has suffered temporary popular disaster.*

STATE.	Date of Law.	Area in Square Miles.	Population, 1850.	Representatives in Congress.	REMARKS.
Illinois . . .	1855	53,409	851,470	9	An ill-constructed law, since repealed, to be replaced by a better.

States and Territories in progress towards PROHIBITION, *or in which laws of partial* PROHIBITION *or severe restriction have been already adopted.*

STATE.	Date of Law.	Area in Square Miles.	Population, 1850.	Representatives in Congress.	REMARKS.
Ohio . . .	1854	39,964	1,980,329	21	A stringent law, prohibiting sale of all liquors, except wine and cider made from native produce.
Pennsylvania .	1855	46,000	2,311,786	25	Retail trade prohibited. Legal difficulties obstruct the full operation of the law.
Wisconsin . .	—	53,924	305,391	3	The elections of 1855 resulted in the choice of a governor favourable to prohibition, but the law was lost by a narrow majority.
Maryland . .	1855	11,124	583,034	6	Passed by the Representatives, but lost in the Senate (slave state).
New Jersey . .	—	8,320	489,555	5	The law recently lost by an even, or tie-vote. The council of Jersey city have carried out a sort of prohibitory ordinance among themselves by a vote of ten to one.
South Carolina .	1856	29,385	668,507	6	Slave state. Total prohibition on Sundays.
Tennessee . .	1856	45,600	1,002,717	10	Slave state. Prohibition of sales in quantities less than one quart.
Texas . . .	—	237,504	212,592	2	A law prohibiting retail sales was sustained by an overwhelming majority in 1854, and has since received extension.
Nebraska . .	—	335,882	—	—	Almost unanimous petitions, *all* the females joining.
Mosquito (Indian)	—	—	—	—	Total prohibition, as stipulated expressly in the treaty recently signed by Lord Clarendon and Mr. Dallas.

BRITISH AMERICA.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

A law of partial prohibition in 1853; repealed in 1854. Total prohibition adopted in 1855, and enforced in 1856. The hostility of the lieutenant-governor to the law enabled its enemies to repeal it. The province is now under most stringent license. Prohibition will shortly, in all probability, be re-enacted.

NOVA SCOTIA.

Narrow majorities in some technical point of order have delayed the measure in this province.

PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND.

Narrowly defeated in 1854.

CANADA.

Lost, in 1856, by 51 to 50. Many counties are under 'no-license' authorities, and are consequently without the sale of intoxicants.

Art. VII.—CASTE.

'Howe'er it be—it seems to me—
'Tis only noble to be good;
Kind hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood.'
TENNYSON.

If you search through the whole south of England, or indeed a much wider range, it would be very difficult to find a more pretty, compact, little, ancient city than C——, with its venerable market-cross in the centre, and diverging avenues, named so rightly after the points of the compass, and its four quadrangles made by the intersection of the streets. Its cathedral, where beauty atones for the absence of vastness, and the fine remains of old ramparts, planted with rows of trees seemingly as old, throw a look of verdant freshness on the time-stained buildings and quiet thoroughfares. Indeed, the fault strangers find with C—— is its quietude. Once a week, on market-days, the tradespeople seem to wake up to the propriety of airing their shops by setting open the doors, and slightly renovating the windows; and the young traders put on their smartest clothes and smiles, and talk of being busy. When the shortlived excitement of that time is over, they all seem to doze away until, in due order, market-day comes round again. The cathedral chimes echo musically through the tranquil streets, and even the little urchins, going to or from school, are far more staid than in other places: they hear their own voices so plainly, that in the shadow of the cathedral, and amid the cloistered arches, a sort of hush falls on them, and keeps them in check until they are past the old lime-tree avenue and in the breezy fields, and then it is noticeable that most of them look back with an air of defiance, and shout so lustily that many maiden ladies of our city, startled by the distant noise, are wont to speak most gloomily of the rising generation, and wonder what the world is coming to. There is, however, one characteristic of C——, even more marked than its quietude, and on which its inhabitants greatly pride themselves. It is a most select, exclusive city—none of your upsetting modern notions about 'universal brotherhood,' and 'nature's gentlemen,' and the 'nobility of worth or talent:' all these phrases and their signification are tabooed among the more ancient gentry of C——, and as to the newer residents of their class, they most likely have taken up their abode within its venerable walls because they like 'the tone of society' in the place, and the strictness with which social distinctions are preserved.

The three Misses Fitzflam were for years among the most energetic sticklers for a rigid exclusiveness, and in furtherance of this object they had constituted themselves the warders of the gentility of their native city. They watched over Miss Megrim's school, and ferreted out the pedigree of every new scholar who arrived there, jealously guarding against the introduction of such a contamination as a tradesman's daughter among the pupils; by which *surveillance* Miss Megrim was kept in trepidation and poverty, with the empty consolation of teaching only gentlemen's daughters, and the prospect of an almshouse or governess's retreat as the abode of her old age. The seven tall daughters of Dr. Rawney, the chief medical man in the town, would on no account associate with or meet the five Misses Tiffany, the merry group who surrounded the parlour fire of the rich retired draper. The Rawneys resented, as did the whole troop of half-pay officers and their families (C—— is rich in this class), the presumption of Tiffany in making a fortune, and then living in a handsome private house in the best street, under their very noses—'the upstart!' Even the religion—and very religious, indeed, the old city claimed to be—is tinctured with this feeling. The congregation at St. Blazy Church diminished rapidly when a new curate came with the vulgar name of 'Stubbs,' and was discovered to be the very studious and deserving son of a Southampton tailor. As to the dissenters, they were, one and all, either ignored as schismatics that had no right to intrude themselves into a cathedral city, or scorned as levellers and vulgarians.

But on one fine autumn morning, nearly a year ago, the whole city was alive with bustle and excitement. There was to be a public meeting on Indian affairs. In no part of the British dominions was there greater interest taken in, or sympathy felt for the sufferers in the fearful oriental tragedy

tragedy than in C——. Many of the resident gentry were widows and maiden ladies, deriving support from, or connected by relationship with India; and they were all hastening to the morning meeting, which was the genteel aristocratic gathering. In the evening, of course, plebeians would assemble, 'and indeed,' said Miss Penelope Fitzflam, with a condescending air, 'I hope they will gather in great force, poor things! only there's no need exactly, my dear, for our mixing with them;' and she drew up the skirts of her dress with a dainty air, stepped into her reserved seat, and soon after, with a flush of angry crimson rushing over her face, and kindling into a bright illumination on the tips of her cheek-bones and at the end of her nose, she pointed, quivering with rage, to 'those odious Tiffany girls! What assurance to come in the morning, and to the reserved seats, too! It was past bearing.'

Yes, there they were looking so modest and neat that foolish Mrs. Major St. Leger said, to the horror of the Fitzflams, 'What a pity they're a tradesman's daughters; they really look like us.'

'It's a very long day, my dear,' replied her gouty husband, drily, 'since you looked like them.'

One of the main topics of the meeting was the 'CASTE' prejudices of India. There was a missionary present who told of the absurd distinctions, and all the senseless and cruel details preserved by prejudice and folly in the East, under the name of religion. Nothing could exceed the interest with which these statements were listened to. The ladies, especially, were all ear, and testified, by gestures of surprise, indignation, or contempt, their detestation of this 'vile Hindoo nonsense of *caste*.' 'It must no longer be fostered or pandered to.' 'No, no! Away with such assumptions and arrogance!' was the thought in every mind, and the word on many lips. As the company retired, no one was more eloquent on the subject of this odious heathen prejudice than the Misses Fitzflam, as they contrived to surround themselves with their friends, and to stop the main entrance when the 'Tiffany girls' were coming up, and by a successful manœuvre compelled them, and a quiet-looking lady they had with them, to leave by the side entrance.

'I'll teli you what, ladies,' growled Major St. Leger, as he waited in the lobby for his carriage, 'there's as much "CASTE" in England as in India, only the difference lies in this: the Hindoo religion enjoins it, and the people are faithful to their creed; the Christian religion forbids it, and the people are faithless!'

'Dear me, what strange opinions!' said many voices, while a little titter went round, and a well-bred whisper circulated that 'the major's gout had made him testy.' Yet somehow the words struck home, and even the Misses Fitzflam felt uncomfortable, and resolved mentally not to oppose—as they had intended to do—the admission of the Misses Tiffany to a monthly working party for making winter clothing for the poor.

Among the gifts bestowed that day, with enthusiastic generosity, to aid the sufferers, was one most munificent in amount; the initials of the donor's name alone were given: F. L. S. Who could it be? Here was something for the gossips to sift out—a delightful little mystery to employ and perplex the idlers of our quiet city. After a long round of morning calls, and many discussions and conjectures as to the modest donor of the munificent gift, the three Misses Fitzflam spent the evening with the St. Legers. The major was amusing for his very waywardness, and, stiff-starched as two out of the three sisters were, they had sense enough to like the flavour of the racy speeches they professed to be amazed at. So it happened that, as they drew around the cheerful fire, their host sitting in his easy chair, Mrs. St. Leger and her guests, for want of other topics, fell to canvassing their neighbours, as is the wont, 'tis said, of ladies in provincial towns. The morning wonderment was renewed, and the mysterious initials were again scanned.

'Oh, it was Frederick Lord Sandown,' said one.

'No, it was surely Felicia Louisa Suffington,' said another.

'Stuff!' said Major St. Leger; 'he's over head and ears in debt; and the widow Felicia will give to sufferers, all and sundry, what she can very well spare—her words; and will keep what she very much loves—her money!'

'Oh, dear!' gasped Penelope Fitzflam, as if a shower-bath had descended upon her. 'You're so severe! so very, very

very severe, major! But who can it be, then, who gives away hundreds in our city, and puts only initials? Let me see,' she continued, in a musing tone. 'F. L. S. There's the Devereux's and De Gange's and—'

'Spare your guesses, Miss Pen.—I have it,' said the major; 'it's "Frances Lucy Staples," you may depend. I saw her full name to a cheque the other day, and made some other discoveries. Yes, yes; the little quiet body that you did not call upon because she was intimate with the Tiffanys, and who has never been invited to any of your fussy—pardon me—charity-gatherings I mean.'

'But, nevertheless, one would not be rude, you know, major,' said Miss Annabella Fitzflam, the youngest sister, with a wintry smile wandering over her hard face, and making it look yet more cold and worldly. 'If this lady is rich, and unfortunately has no acquaintances but these Tiffanys—who no doubt, have fastened themselves on her—we must cultivate her. I shall call upon her to-morrow. But what makes you think she has given this sum of money to the Indian Fund?'

'Oh, because I know she is generous, if not rich. There's no one else among us—poor, proud puppets that we are—could or would afford a quarter the sum.'

'But,' persisted Mrs. St. Leger, with true wifely curiosity, 'tell us how it is she is so rich. Who is she?'

'A lady, my dear, who condescended to live usefully. She may not be exactly rich, but she has money, and she made it. A retired shopkeeper.'

'Oh, horrid! A tradesman is bad enough—that is, except *as* a tradesman—but a tradeswoman! Really, major, your "lady" soared at first like a balloon in your description, but your conclusion is quite a collapse.' A little, dry, crackling sound, meant to be a laugh, followed this bit of Miss Penelope's oratory.

The major knit his brows, grasped his crutch-stick tight in his hands, and leaning forward on it, as he sat in his easy chair, answered:

'I repeat my words. Mrs. Staples, whose identity with a well-remembered friend of days long past I never discovered until I recently saw her Christian names, is, I repeat it, a lady who has lived usefully, I may add nobly—a great distinction—for one who has not had the joy or sorrow of near personal ties. Properly speaking, she is still *Miss* Staples, though her age sanctions the more matronly title usually given her. It may be, ladies, that, amid your studies in musty family records, and your careful adjustment of etiquette and conventionalism—the CASTE prejudices of the West, as arbitrary, and far more inconsistent, than those of the East—it may be that you have lost heart as well as head. If so, I keep my story to myself, if not'——

'Oh! pray, major,' exclaimed the usually quiet Mary Fitzflam, the second sister, 'tell us about her. If we are really so very wrong, set us right.'

'Ah! my dear major, do leave fault-finding, and tell us this story,' echoed Mrs. St. Leger.

'Well, it's soon told, ladies. Thirty years ago, or more, there was a rich old fool of a knight in Devonshire'——

The audience all laughed at this beginning, and Miss Penelope, who was not wanting in shrewdness, said, 'Happy Devonshire, if it is thirty years since they have had such a commodity as a rich old fool!'

'Oh! madam, spare your criticisms. The breed is not extinct in Devon, or elsewhere. This Sir John Polixphene's folly showed itself thus: being left a widower, he commenced a search after a second wife, and sought among ladies who were about the age of his first wife when he had married her forty years before. A rich young girl to whom he proposed laughed out so honestly at his preposterous offer, that for some time his folly was kept in check; but it broke forth again when he was visiting at the house of a medical gentleman in Exeter, whom I will call Dr. Hale. Now the doctor had a numerous young family—a little hundred, as we say—and he complained that, as if his burdens were not sufficiently great, an orphan sister of his wife's lived with them, who certainly did not add to the pressure. Poor thing! she had not an easy life, for she was the fag to the children, doing more than any nursemaid or governess, without wages, and yet was expected to keep up an appearance as a young lady, and not disgrace the family by appearing shabby, or libel it by looking melancholy. I don't say they were unkind. They were straitened in means, and had to make a smooth surface to the world, and very hard

hard work that was for all, but most for the sister, who was overworked, underfed, and yet regarded as a favoured dependent. An elder sister years before had lived with Mrs. Hale, but being well-educated and high-spirited she took flight to India, meaning to be a governess, or something of that kind; but the disgrace, as Dr. Hale called it, of such a step was prevented by her marrying a poor gentleman in the civil service there. Meanwhile the younger sister had grown up in bondage, and had no means, it seemed, of escape. She was flimsily taught, as girls mostly were then; and so a genteel drudge she was, and knew pretty well the meaning of the word torture.

'But imagine the sensation that was caused when old Sir John Polixphene looked in the face of this poor thing, and saw that it was very fair amid its pensiveness, and that her being grown out of her vamped-up frock was by no means a way to hide the graces of her form. But I'm not going to dwell on this ogreish love. The young girl shrank from him as a pure nature, revolted by hoary imbecility and folly, would and should. But the family, when they saw this monstrous infatuation of the old man's, were in ecstacies. Their little fag was instantly elevated into a person of consequence in the household, and "Don't tease darling Aunty so" was the new and strange command to the children, who had always considered "Little Aunty" as their lawful property, as much as the nursery kitten that they pulled and pinched—only Aunty had no talons.

'Shame, perhaps, kept Mrs. Hale from any explanation with her sister. She thought that the prospect of leaving a scene of toil, having a rich home, and being called "My lady," would overcome any natural repugnance the young girl might have to the man who could offer these advantages. So there came a day when, by the connivance of the doctor and his wife, Sir John found himself alone with the object of his monstrous passion. She had so carefully avoided him, that he eagerly seized the opportunity, and made his offer to the shocked and startled girl. Calmly and most decidedly she refused him, to the amazement of the suitor, who was by no means ignorant of the worldly value of his social status, and attributed the failure he had before met with to the fact of the lady having a fortune of her own. "Had she been poor," he argued, "she would have given a very different reply." But here was an incomprehensible young girl, the bond-slave in a family of tyrants young and old, who refused to escape to rank and freedom, and who kept saying nervously—"Sir! respect for you, as well as myself, prevents my for an instant listening to your offer." In an evil moment the infatuated old sinner alluded to her dependence, and then the young girl's timidity vanished, and she asked him—"Is it because I am poor, and, alas! friendless, that you have made this proposal? Do you force me to consider it not a folly, but an insult?" He saw in a moment, ladies, that it was no pretty, mealy-mouthed "*No*," that meant—"*Yes*," such as conventionalism, I am told, requires from female lips. He, Sir John Polixphene, with his houses and lands, his gifts and graces, was refused by this poor dependent, who dared to stigmatise the marriage he proposed as "a violation of the sanctities of nature." In a terrible rage—for nothing is so provoking as truth—the aged suitor hobbled away.

'If there was rage on his part, who shall describe the tempest that burst on the poor girl? Dr. Hale and his wife, disappointed, mortified beyond endurance, sent forth bitter, arrowy words that wounded their victim at every pore. Ah, ladies! the martyrdom of St. Sebastian is but a type of what society often inflicts. In vain the poor girl pleaded, "she could not love the man, and that marriage without love was deadly sin." They affected to be horrified at such sentiments—bold, unfeminine, immoral, indecent; but the long and short of it was, Dr. Hale would maintain such a rebellious, ungrateful creature no longer.

'Roused by the very imminence of her destitution, the young girl said, "Let me try to get my living; I want to be a burden to no one."

'"Yes, and degrade us! You know, you mean-spirited creature, that a woman loses caste when she descends from her station to business pursuits, for as to a profession, you can't even be a governess! What do you know properly pray?"

'To punish her, rather than to part with

with her altogether, the Hales dismissed her from their house to the dwelling of an old servant, who lived in a village some miles distant; and hoped that they might propitiate Sir John, and bring down the spirit of their relative: but they signally failed, for, in the quiet of the poor cottage, the persecuted girl recruited both mind and body. She took a calm view of her position; and feeling herself released from her sister's care by being sent from her dwelling, she resolved, as the old story-books say, to go forth and seek her fortune. She was a good needlewoman, and though then, as now, there were plenty of distressed seamstresses, still she resolved to try her skill: and hearing that the old servant with whom she was now living had a sister in Plymouth who kept an outfitting shop, she wrote to her, and asked to be allowed to make a trial as an assistant in her business. The plan was soon arranged; and just as Dr. and Mrs. Hale were intending to command her return (for she was sorely missed in their household), she had established herself at a little work-table in a garret under the friendly roof of her new acquaintance at Plymouth.

'It was a hard struggle for life for many a weary month; but she had tasted the sweets of the crust earned by honest, independent toil, and she persevered. One letter passed on each side between her and her relatives—a peremptory order to return, or to consider herself no longer a relation of theirs. A quiet refusal to comply with the first request, and a hope that she should never be unworthy of her name, comprised the whole correspondence. The Hales caused it to be believed in Exeter that their sister had gone to reside with a relative at a distance, and she was no longer spoken of among them. Henceforth they were dead to each other.

'Two years passed. At the expiration of that time the poor seamstress found herself able to remove her residence to a thriving country town some distance from Plymouth, where she hoped to have better health than had up to that time been her portion. She lived a very secluded life, known to very few; and, by toiling on, was just able to maintain herself, but yet happy in her lot.

'On reaching the town to which she removed, a change awaited her that developed her unselfish character, and led to better days. She had scarcely been settled in her lodgings three weeks, when an epidemic disorder broke out in the town, and carried sickness and death into many dwellings. Its progress was so rapid and fatal, that all who could left the place panic-stricken. Opposite to the young seamstress's lodging was the handsome shop of the principal bookseller and printer of the town. A father and son were the proprietors of the business; and the family, besides these, consisted of the son's wife and child, a young sister, two apprentices, and a servant. Into this abode the fever entered with fearful power: the servant and eldest apprentice died two days after the first attack; and then the other apprentice ran away; and the neighbours, in their dread, refused to enter the dwelling where both the partners in the business, father and son, were seized with the malady in its most malignant form. From her window the lonely needlewoman watched the pallid, delicate wife waiting on her husband and father-in-law, and saw that the child and the shop were left to the young sister Bertha, a girl of some fourteen years of age. Her resolution was taken to go over and offer assistance. When she named her determination to her landlady, she was told she must not return to those lodgings if she went to the fever-stricken house. However, she went, and was hailed as an angel of light by the poor worn-out young wife. A wonderful energy supported the visitor to that house of affliction. She it was who cut off all intercourse between the shop and the house, and restricted Bertha and the child to the front premises day and night. She it was who watched and waited on the sufferers, and on the dismal night that deprived the poor wife both of husband and father-in-law, she was the helper and the comforter, the nurse and friend.

'With these victims the fever departed; but scarcely had the grave closed over them when the child, who had been well through all the troubles, sickened and died of some infantine disease; and the poor widow, heart-broken at her sorrows, had but little strength for an expected trial that was to give a fatherless infant to her arms. In two months' time a new life came into

into that house of death; and through all these varied scenes of calamity, the young seamstress was a ministering angel, ever active, ready, cheerful. Her health returned as these demands were made on her energies. When not in the sick-room, she studied the details of the business; and the neighbours, when their fright was over, feeling ashamed of their desertion of the widow in her time of need, now vied with each other in promoting the business which, at first, had been threatened with ruin. The widow, as soon as she partially recovered, instructed her willing helper, who, aided by the young sister, contrived to take all severe toil from the bereaved; and if health and comfort could have come to the widow, the house of sorrow would have lost its gloom. But Mrs. Festonleigh never rallied. The second summer after the death of her husband she also departed, leaving her little girl Alice, the posthumous child, her sister Bertha, and the business in trust for them, to the friend who had come to her in her hour of need. So you see our seamstress had now her hands full—a family and a shop bequeathed to her. She was equal to it. She farmed off the printing business, taking a moderate profit from it, but not parting with it; and, having both taste and judgment, so increased the book and library department, that soon it was the best shop in the town. She fulfilled her trust; gave Alice a good education; and offered, when she came of age, to resign the business to her. But Alice had other prospects. She became the wife of the captain of a merchant ship, and would only take a very moderate dower from one whom she rightly regarded as a mother. Bertha, delicate from childhood, had died years before. And so there was no impediment to the prosperity of the subject of my narrative. Simple in her mode of living, regular in her business pursuits, she grew gradually but surely rich. All the investments of her savings were wisely made; but money, for its own sake, she did not value. There was not a charitable institution in the town, or at length in the county, that she did not benefit; and it came to pass that her Exeter relations found her out. They were somewhat scandalised at having a shopkeeping sister; but as she manifested no intention of visiting them, they had not the disgrace brought home to them; and in proportion to her firm refusals to come to them, were their entreaties that she would gratify their affectionate hearts by her presence. She did not comply: but there were other requests she was less resolute in refusing. Loans of money for the education of her nephews, or to replenish the wardrobes of her nieces, were often craved, and as often sent: as to whether they were ever repaid, I know not.

'To her sister who had married in India, and who came home a widow with a slender income and a broken constitution—to that dear sister she was a true friend. She took a charming cottage for her in a sheltered situation on the banks of the Tavey, and soothed her declining years with the tenderest love.

'A cottage on the banks of the Tavey!' Major St. Leger, 'why, are you speaking of any relation of your brother's wife all this time?' said Mrs. St. Leger, with surprise.

'Of course I am, my dear. Her sister Fanny, who so kindly paid for the education of our nephew George, and did a thousand acts of generosity during my brother's troubles. For we know,' he added, looking at his wife, 'that Indian life is not all splendour and prosperity. There, as elsewhere, those who do the most work are the worst paid.'

'Well! but how was it you did not know of her residence here?'

'Why, I have not so long been here, you know, and when I came from Rome, I purposed going down to the west; and then I heard from one of the young Hales that his aunt Fanny had retired from business, and was travelling for a time; and I find she took a young girl, who had been a schoolfellow of her ward Alice, with her to Germany—the eldest sister of the Tiffanys—and that began the friendship with them; and so for a time she has made her abode here, and tested the courtesy and hospitality of our venerable city.'

'Dear, goodness! It's very strange, I must say, for a gentleman's daughter to go into trade.'

'Oh! as to that, ladies, spare your wonder; some of our best nobility have had no higher origin. Here's a book,' he added, tapping a volume, with Mudie's label, that lay on the table, which says 'Cornwallis and Coventry the

the Earls of Radnor, Essex, Dartmouth, Craven, Harwich, Tankerville, Pomfret, Darnley, Cowper, and Romney, are respectively descended from a city merchant, a London mercer, a silk manufacturer, a city alderman, a member of the Skinners' Company, a merchant tailor, a mercer, a Calais merchant; and good London citizens were the ancestors of the other noble families;* and very good ancestors too, better, to my mind, than the pretty Mistress Nelly, or the crafty Duchess of Portsmouth, or the imperious Castlemaine, and other ill-omened birds of that feather.'

'Well, major, but what became of the old lover with whom your story commenced?' said Mary Fitzflam.

'Oh! he went home and married his housemaid, a buxom lass of twenty, and a pretty piece of business he made of it.'

'But, my dear major,' interposed Miss Penelope Fitzflam, her eyes kindling with triumph, 'according to your theory, in thus acting he was only showing his superiority to "*caste* prejudices."'

'Pardon me, Miss Pen. I'm no leveller, and I have no sympathy with all the wild talk about equality that some people delight in.

'This miserable old man might have found companionship for his declining years among his many relatives, or he might have chosen suitably as to age and education, and married well and wisely. But early youth naturally shrank from him; and when he chose a wife without education or principle, I say he disgraced his family and stained his name. You ladies often quote Scripture; I do not. I abstain reverently from doing that which you as reverently, perhaps, feel constrained to do. But there's a pithy little sentence of four words — "Be not unequally yoked"—which I suppose is a divine command, is it not? Now youth and age, refinement and rudeness, education and ignorance, these are inequalities—they are not contrasts merely. Contrasts may harmonise, as discords in music. I have seen a few such marriages in my time, though hardly so outrageous as old Sir John Polixphene's, and they all turned out much the same. A low woman, unable to comprehend her position, intent on showing off the finery, for which she has sold herself, among her former companions—feeling a loathing and impatience towards the man who has bought her—what but misery and shame can, or ought to come, from such nuptials? I believe Sir John's lady was true to her early training and pursuits, and flourished her besom famously after she ceased to be accredited housemaid. None dared dispute her rule, least of all her husband. She embittered his life, shortened his days, spent his money, and ended by marrying an old flame—the coachman—who, it was said—I hope with truth—paid off Sir John's debts. No, no, ladies; to honour worth wherever it is found, to abjure the paltry pride whose root is in the charnel-house of antiquity, and to recognise the truth—

> "The rank is but the guinea stamp,
> The man's the gowd for a' that—"

that would do good in many a little pent-up circle—where there can be no growth for the virtues hemmed in by barriers that shut out both the light of reason and the air of freedom.'

The old major's eyes flashed as he spoke; and Mary Fitzflam—who was better than her name—shook his hand as he ceased, and said, 'Thank you, sir, for your narrative and your comments. I, for one, shall not forget your words. I hope the time may soon come when these caste prejudices among us may pass away, and Christian principles be as manifest in our social institutions as they are vaunted in our professions.'

Whether Miss Mary's hopes are yet realised in C——, the writer can scarcely say, but a better state of things prevails; and when a good action is done, the doer of it is not snubbed if he or she happen to belong to the class of workers; and the idlers are less assured of their gentility than they once were. Poor Miss Megrim ventures to introduce into her schoolroom now and then a particularly well-behaved daughter of the trading class, and is evidently not so much in awe of aristocratic peeping and prying, and thinks less dolefully of the almshouse that seems fading rather than looming in the distance.

Even in a cathedral city, ventilation of opinion is possible in this age of marvels.

* See 'The History and Antiquities of North Allerton, in the county of York,' by C. T. Davidson Ingledew, Esq. See also 'Athenæum,' August 14th, p. 195.

Meliora:

ART. I. — 1. *Reports of the House of Commons on Transportation.* 1837-50.
2. *Reports of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Britain.* V. Y.
3. *Memoranda on Intermediate Convict Prisons.* 1857.
4. *Captain Crofton's Notes on Colonel Jebb's Report.* 1858.

THE present age is specially marked by restlessness and progress. Nothing is allowed to stand still. Every habit, however honoured by the practice of past ages, is brought to examination and trial, and continued or rejected according as it agrees with, or is repugnant to, what are regarded as the fixed first principles which ought to regulate human conduct.

We take no gloomy view of our present state. Doubtless there are changes advocated which are not to be approved, steps eagerly counselled which lead wholly away from the right path; but still most of the social changes in progress are for good. There is much more of Christian love and sympathy betwixt the various classes of men than in former days, and there is much more acknowledgment of the supremacy of God's law, and of its applicability to the transactions of nations and of society, as well as of private individuals; and from these facts we think ourselves entitled to take courage, and hope that the wider diffusion and more effectual application of these simple but most powerful motives, are gradually, but surely, working out a better and a happier state of society than that which now exists in the world.

There is no department of social science to which these remarks are more applicable than to the development of what is termed 'prison discipline.' This is no place to discuss fully what constitutes crime. In the highest sense, every violation of God's law is crime; but from man's point of view, and in ordinary language, crime may be defined to be an act which is considered to be essentially wrong in itself, and which, at the same time, is felt to be injurious to society, and which is therefore punished that it may be prevented. In the ruder stages of society, characterised by violence in every direction, where *might* alone makes *right*, *vengeance* is the sole principle applied in the treatment of crime. This was the dominant feature of criminal law during the classical and feudal ages, slightly modified during the decline of the latter

by the romantic feelings of chivalry. This stern, almost merciless system, has given its own colour, more or less, to the criminal laws of modern Europe; for a principle, or a practice, once introduced, continues to operate long after the state of society in which it arose has passed away. The warlike spirit of the barons of the middle ages put to death fellow-creatures for offences against their horses, their armour, or their game; and the mercantile spirit of the eighteenth century hanged them for the most paltry offences against property. In each case the *principle* was to protect what was most valued, and the *practice* was to take the most effectual means to prevent the repetition of the crime. Both were developments of 'might making right,' going very far beyond what was just and equitable. With the gradual decay of the feudal system, the administration of criminal law was mollified; but it was not until the nations of Europe had become enlightened by the diffusion of scriptural truth and Bible principles, consequent on the great events of the sixteenth century—events whose beneficent influence extends far beyond the boundaries of the nations which have the name of Protestant—that any deliberate improvement took place in the treatment of criminals.

Criminal law and prison discipline ought to embrace two distinct objects—punishment of the offence, and reformation of the offender. These ought never to be disjoined; but whenever a system of criminal law gives an undue preponderance either to the one or the other, it must fail in accomplishing its end. There can be no question that, up to a recent date, our criminal laws erred grievously on the side of severity; at the present moment the tendency is in the opposite direction; and we have need to take care that we do not treat our criminals as objects of romantic interest, rather than as poor and miserable sinners. In a simple state of society, where the usual agencies for moral improvement are in vigorous operation, simple punishment may be found sufficient, both for the public good and for the good of the criminal. Corporeal suffering, sharp but transient, may be found to deter from repetition of offences; and if we may judge from the recorded experience of Judea, of Egypt, and of China, it need infer no permanent disgrace, nor prevent the immediate return of the criminal to his ordinary place and duties among his fellows. When, however, society becomes more complex, and when a distinctly-marked criminal class has come into existence, whatever may have been the cause, then this simple treatment becomes ineffectual or impracticable, and imprisonment as a punishment becomes common; and this furnishes the raw material on which the improvers of prison discipline have to operate. In countries under despotic government, where 'might makes right,' the treatment of prisoners depends on the caprice of the ruling power; and actions which

which in other lands would scarcely be felt to be offences, and still less crimes, are visited by punishments of the greatest severity. In free countries like our own, where *right* alone makes *might*, the reverse is apt to be the case; and there is at the present day no small risk that feelings of sympathy for offenders may be carried to such an extent as to lead us to forget both what is due to society and what is due to the best interests of criminals themselves. A remarkable instance of this is to be found in the endeavours now made to abolish the punishment of death even in cases of murder; and it appears in another form, in the prevalent opinion that the officials of a prison cannot be doing their duty unless the prisoners under their charge be increasing in weight from month to month.

The earlier criminal law of our own country was marked by extreme severity. Vengeance for the crime, the infliction of pain and suffering in order to deter from its repetition, were the only principles in operation. In the present day the physical circumstances of a prison are made as free from suffering, and even from discomfort, as combined skill and kindness can contrive consistently with the safe custody of the inmates; and every exertion is made to reclaim the criminal by moral and religious training, so that he may be returned to society a useful, self-supporting member.

There is no part of our social progress on which we look with more entire satisfaction than the change in our criminal laws, and our treatment of prisoners, even although we feel it to be chargeable with serious mistakes. It has advanced slowly, but steadily, in the right direction, and the alterations made during the last century are a most instructive subject of study.

The founder of modern prison discipline was John Howard, one of the noblest and most useful men whom the world has ever seen. His exertions were first and principally directed to the structure of prisons and the feeding and clothing of the inmates; and in truth, when he commenced his labours, such was the horrible state of the prisons of Britain (and of all Europe), that until their physical state was entirely changed, no moral improvement could be introduced. The fearful state of prisons arose partly from thoughtlessness, partly from a deliberate desire of making them really places of suffering, and this purpose they most amply fulfilled. Howard was at first regarded as an amiable gentleman, who troubled himself and his neighbours about a class of people who deserved no sympathy; but few reformers have been so thoroughly successful in the task prescribed to themselves. Before he died, the correctness of his principles was admitted, not only in his own country, but in almost every kingdom of Europe; and since his death they have spread more and more in actual practice; and the whole system of modern prison discipline is but

their full development. It is no wonder that Howard was successful. The basis of his whole work was Christian love, and this was guided and applied by vigorous common sense and indomitable perseverance. Doubtless his labours were made more acceptable by the terror excited in Britain by the occasional ravages of gaol fever. What abstract love of our fellow-men might have failed to do was accomplished by dread of this fell disease.

It is difficult now to realise the state of a large prison in Howard's early days. If human ingenuity had been taxed to the uttermost to devise the mode of gathering into a small space everything that was most vile and most mischievous, a prison in 1760 might well have been the result. It was so constructed and so managed as to be a perfect pandemonium, well entitled to have engraven on its portals the dread line of the Italian poet—

'Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch'entrate.'

Men and women, boys and girls, the hardened criminal grown gray in a long career of iniquity, and the trembling little urchin convicted, or perhaps only accused of what scarcely deserved the name of a crime, were crowded together by day and by night. There was in many cases no distinction between tried and untried, there was little provision of food or clothing, and there was none of moral or religious instruction; and to complete the system, the income of the governors depended very much on the savings they could make from the payments they drew for feeding the prisoners, an irresistible temptation to keep them on short allowance; and when the period of sentence expired, there was no liberation until fees were paid, so heavy that many an unhappy being continued to pine in prison for years, perhaps for life, unless relieved by private charity. Imagination cannot picture a system more thoroughly opposed to the Christianity professed by the nation, and more calculated to debase and ruin all who came under its influence. It prevailed for many a year without control, and without even objection; and we doubt not, that, in the multitude and the hardihood of our confirmed professional criminals, we are at this day reaping the fruit of the evil seed sown by our forefathers. A great system of moral wrong, such as this treatment of prisoners, or, on a greater scale, such as the slavery of the western hemisphere, leaves its traces in society long after it has been abolished both by law and in practice, and its evils can only be eradicated by slow degrees.

Let us take a rapid survey of the changes which have been made in the management of prisons during the last hundred years.

The first thing accomplished was the improvement of the buildings; and in this matter we are inclined to think that we have gone far enough, perhaps too far. It is a marked feature, and a pleasant one, in John Bull's character, that once arouse him

to

to the sense of having done a wrong, he is sure to go beyond all bounds in his endeavours to repair it. Thus it was with prison building. Satisfied that he had done very wrong in having dungeons of the worst description, he passed very quickly to the opposite extreme of thinking that he could not build them too good and too fine; and this notion probably reached its culminating point in the erection, some twenty years ago, of the great prison at York, where each cell cost no less than 1,200*l.*, and each prisoner sits at a house-rent of 60*l.* a year.

The glaring absurdity of this erection has given a check to the perpetration of such folly, and of late years the erection of prisons has been conducted on a scale rather more in conformity with the dictates of common sense. A prison ought to be a prison, and not a palace, even in its outward appearance. The past expenditure of money in architectural and engineering experiments on prisons is not, however, wholly to be regretted nor condemned. The result has been that we now know how a prison, whether large or small, ought to be constructed so as to provide at once for the safe custody of the inmates, and to give every facility for their physical, industrial, and religious training. The fault we are most inclined to find with modern prisons is that they are too large; and the great evil of this is the difficulty of finding men fit for the arduous duty of superintending them, and making their personal influence felt by every inmate, which is the great secret of success in all moral enterprises. Five hundred men will be found, each perfectly capable of managing a small school to perfection, for one who could bring Rugby to the state in which Arnold left it. His work was accomplished by making the workings of his own mind and heart be felt by every boy under his charge. It is the same in other things—in war—in politics: the number of men capable of influencing and moulding the minds of *multitudes* is very small; while those who can effectually guide a small number, and mould them to their will, are abundant—they are to be found everywhere in society. The conclusion is obvious: build no huge prisons on the speculation that possibly suitable persons to manage them may be found; but build them of moderate size, with the certainty that there will be no difficulty in finding abundance of good governors.

The next improvement adopted was the separation of male from female prisoners, of tried from untried, of juvenile delinquents from hoary offenders. It is clear that this is a first step in the reformation of prisoners, and equally clear that it could only be accomplished after the erection of suitable buildings.

The system of separation is now carried to the greatest possible extent in many of the ordinary prisons of Britain, where each prisoner has a separate cell, and no intercourse whatever is permitted

mitted betwixt one and another. The advantages of entire separation are very obvious. It puts an end to the corruption of any one prisoner by his intercourse with others, one of the worst results of imprisonment on the old plan. It was, however, much opposed, as being too severe, and calculated to have an injurious effect on criminals; various modifications were attempted, separate cells at night and working in association by day, or separation at night and at work, but association for instruction. All these proved instructive experiments, and doubtless there are advantages in association for work, and still greater in association for lessons; but the general result is very decidedly in favour of complete separation; for such is the ingenuity and cleverness of the criminal classes that it seems to defy the skill of the ablest governors to prevent mischief where intercourse in any shape or form is allowed. On this point the rules of the General Board of Directors of Prisons in Scotland are very stringent, and no evil but much good is found to result from their strict observance. There is an entire mistake very prevalent as to what the separate system really is. It is supposed to be *solitary* confinement; but it is nothing of the kind. The prisoner is effectually separated from all other prisoners, has no means of associating with them, but he is in perpetual association with all the officials of the prison. By associating with prisoners he may be expected to learn only evil; by associating with the prison officers he ought to learn only that which is good. The system of 'silent association,' tried in America, where the prisoners met for work and instruction, but were never allowed to speak to each other, or even to the officers, unless in reply to questions, never found much favour in this country. It was a prolonged slow torture rather than a punishment, and was incapable of being fully carried out unless by means of excessive severity. How strange that a system so tyrannical, forbidding for years the use of speech, one of God's greatest gifts to man, one of the powers which distinguish man from the brute creation, should have been devised and carried into operation and loudly praised by a people professing to recognise the rights of man more fully than any other nation upon earth!

The next step in advance was to attempt the instruction of prisoners. To us at the present day the employment of chaplains and teachers is so identified with the very existence of a prison that we can hardly think of a prison without them. A hundred years ago they were almost unknown, and there was no legal provision for their payment. If any persons in the community required such services, and had a right to them at the public cost on the ground of brotherly love, it was that class who had by their actions proved themselves to be either ignorant of, or wilful rebels against, the laws of God and man, and who, in consequence, were shut

shut up and secluded from the means of instruction of which all others in the country might avail themselves if they chose. None had so much need of every kind of instruction, and yet they alone were completely debarred from it so far as legal provision went, and the important work was left to the workings of occasional zeal and energy, and was too often discountenanced by prison officers. There was scarcely a prison in Britain where a chaplain or a teacher was employed by the public, and still fewer where such ministrations were acceptable to the officials. Gradually, however, sounder views took possession of the public mind, until the religious and moral and secular instruction of prisoners came to be enforced in every place; and now the chaplains and teachers are regarded, and justly so, as in many respects discharging more important duties than even the governor and warders. Along with all these improvements, the very important question of where prisoners were to be kept, and how they were to be disposed of, gradually became more and more important, and at the same time more difficult of solution. We have no very accurate statistical returns of prisoners a hundred years ago, but on the whole it is clear that the improvement of prisons was followed by a great increase of the number of prisoners. This was partly caused by improved police arrangements, by which more criminals were detected, partly by fewer deaths in prison, and partly by judges having no hesitation in sentencing to longer periods, when they knew that the offender would be duly cared for in every way, but principally by acts of parliament almost yearly adding to the number of offences to be thus punished. Whatever may have been the causes, the result was that the new prisons were soon completely filled, and hence came the system of transportation, which, from small beginnings, rose to be one of our great national institutions.

Britain has long been possessed of a boundless extent of unoccupied territories, many of them naturally fertile, and destined, no doubt, in after ages, to be the densely-peopled abodes of highly-civilised nations. In the latter part of the seventeenth century, and during more than the first half of the eighteenth, previous to the improvements in prison discipline, it had been the practice to sentence offenders, at first mostly for political or religious offences, to be banished to the plantations in North America. There some of them were apprenticed to settlers, being thereby reduced to a state very closely resembling that of slavery, either for life, or for a certain term of years; others were simply conveyed across the Atlantic, landed, and left to shift for themselves; and during the early part of last century this mode was adopted to get rid of many ordinary offenders of all kinds. The declaration of American independence put a sudden end to the practice, and it became necessary to find another outlet for our criminal population.

tion. Government fixed on the great continent whose coasts had then recently been explored by Captain Cook. The circumstances of New South Wales, however, were at the time widely different from those of the North American plantations. The land was wholly uncultivated, there were no colonists, and no demand for labour, and the only inhabitants of this vast territory were a few wandering tribes in the lowest state of civilisation. It was necessary to make entirely new arrangements, and it is very clear that in them there was little thought bestowed, either on the best interests of the criminals, or on those of the large portion of the earth's surface on which they were the first representatives of Anglo-Saxon energy and enterprise. Nothing, in fact, was contemplated but to deliver our own country from the presence of a troublesome portion of the community; and if they could only be removed out of sight, and effectually prevented from returning home, the desired object was attained. It never seems to have occurred to any one that the state could owe any *duty* to a criminal, or that any endeavour ought to be made to reclaim him. The first cargo of convicts landed at Botany Bay in 1788—a strange commencement of the great and wealthy colonies now so rapidly rising in importance. Along with the convicts a certain number of free settlers were sent out, tempted by various inducements, and especially by having convicts assigned to them as labourers, and there was an ample supply of soldiery and prison officers to keep the unruly convicts in some sort of order. After a few years' experience other penal settlements were formed in Van Diemen's Land, &c., and for about half a century we sent out, on an average, two thousand convicts every year; a vast relief, no doubt, to the mother-country. The whole arrangements, however, were nearly as bad as possible. There was little of *prison discipline* either on board ship during the long passage to the antipodes, or after landing in the colony, save the exercise of brute force; no chaplains, no teachers accompanied the convicts, and there was for many years no provision of religious instruction even for the voluntary colonists. The whole concern was placed, so far as statutory arrangements were concerned, beyond the pale of Christianity. Convicts were supposed to be too bad to be reclaimed, and the attempt was not made. Even the free settlers were at first, in many cases, not much more virtuous than the convicts; and altogether the records which have been preserved, though very imperfect, give a loathsome picture of the results of the first years of our penal colonies. Sin reigned triumphant, and almost unchecked.

The natural advantages of Australia, however, gradually attracted free settlers in greater numbers and of better character—the honest became the majority instead of the minority. Convict

labour then proved to be of great value to the rising colony; and for twenty or thirty years the system of transportation may be said to have flourished, the results of it for a time being advantageous both to the mother-country and to the colony, though the best interests of the unhappy convicts were still almost entirely overlooked.

One part of the system was thoroughly unjust—no provision was made for bringing back to England convicts whose period of sentence had expired. It was very costly, and England did not wish to see them again. Thus, a sentence of *seven years'* transportation became equivalent, in most cases, to a sentence for life. A few were able to pay or work their way home, but the greater part remained; and some of the most respectable inhabitants of the colony at the present day are the descendants of transported felons. Public attention, however, was gradually drawn to the fate of 'England's exiles,' and they were not overlooked during the progress of prison discipline at home. The passage out was more carefully regulated, chaplains were employed, and many excellent rules were laid down for the control and discipline of the convicts. But it is difficult even for the arm of Britain, powerful as it is, to make itself steadily felt at the opposite side of the globe; and therefore everything depended on the personal characters of those to whom the actual control was intrusted, and these, of course, varied from time to time, but still with steady progress, on the whole, in the way of improvement.

Meanwhile the colonies had, in other respects, been rapidly growing in population and importance. Free settlers of average character and respectability had been annually added to the inhabitants, till the convicts became only a small portion of the population, and eventually *free* labour became abundant. When this point was attained, it was only the natural course of things that the annual arrival of thousands of criminals should come to be regarded as a very doubtful benefit; and instead of the colonists flocking to the coast, as of old, to contend with each other for the possession of convict labour, they came at last to object to their being sent amongst them in any shape or under any condition. It is impossible within our limits to give any details of the gradual changes introduced into the management of the convicts when landed in Australia, or of the noble exertions of Sir Edward Parry, Captain Maconochie, and others to whom the command was from time to time intrusted. Suffice it to say, that had the system been commenced and carried out on such principles of common sense and Christian expediency, with regard alike to the good of the colonies and of the prisoners, it might have been proceeding, to the advantage of all parties, to this hour.

Every one who considers the subject must admit that there are many

many and great difficulties to be encountered in any scheme for the treatment of criminals, whether at home or abroad. At the present day, it seems clear enough that the transports ought to have been *prepared* by careful previous training; that arrangements should have been made for carrying out, after a time, the wives and families of married men, the neglect of which caused a vast amount of sin and misery, both at home and in the colonies, and was often the means of inflicting far severer punishment on the innocent than on the guilty, besides entailing great expense on the parishes of the convicts. None ought to have been sent abroad for short periods, and every inducement held out to all to remain permanently after the period of sentence had expired; in short, every one who landed on the shores of Australia ought to have been led, if possible, to consider it as his home for life; and, at the same time, to have had the prospect clearly set before him of doing well in the world, if he chose. This is the only reasonable ground of hope for such persons, until higher and holier principles are implanted in their hearts. At this moment, the only colony willing to admit convicts is Western Australia—for the garrisons of Gibraltar and Bermuda cannot well be considered as colonies—and even Western Australia only requires a few years more of prosperity to arrive at the point when convict labour will cease to be desired.

The system of transportation had many advantages, especially to the mother-country; and it was a severe trial to the modern system of prison discipline when it was, almost at once and without warning, brought to a termination. The general principles, however, on which prison discipline ought to be conducted had made such sure and well-grounded progress, that when the emergency occurred, the remedy was at hand, and the plan of tickets-of-leave was introduced; but never, probably, was a scheme, marked by singular ability, suitableness, simplicity, and common sense, met by such an unreasoning torrent of abuse.

The outcry was opened by the powerful leaders (or misleaders) of public opinion, and the whole country speedily joined in the chorus. The alarm was so universal that many people seemed to expect to meet a ticket-of-leave man on every occasion of a twilight walk, whether in the metropolis or in a rural lane; or if that danger were happily escaped, then they reckoned on being, in all probability, murdered before breakfast. The columns of our newspapers teemed with articles and letters to this effect; and vehement were the denunciations of those who devised, or who ventured to advocate the scheme.

Yet all this clamour was owing to the haste at which the public arrived at conclusions, without taking time or trouble to ascertain whether they had any solid foundation. The sudden refusal of the

the colonies to receive more convicts produced a *glut* in our prisons, fresh prisoners were daily arriving, and the principal outlet was permanently closed. What could be done? It was manifestly unjust and cruel to inflict on any man a punishment more severe than that to which he had been sentenced; and to keep a man, condemned to seven, or ten, or twenty years' transportation, in prison in this country for the same period, would have been a far severer punishment, even had there been sufficient prison accommodation, and that, too, inflicted without the intervention of judge or jury. Fortunately for the country, when the difficulty occurred, our convict system was presided over by one peculiarly fitted to meet and overcome it. Colonel Jebb, the chairman of the General Board of Directors of Convict Prisons, had for many years devoted his whole energies to the cause of prison discipline; and no man, since the days of John Howard, has done so much for its improvement, to the advantage alike of criminals and of society. In his labours he was cordially supported by the other members of the Board, and still more efficiently by the governors and chaplains of the various convict and other large prisons in Britain. He has been the founder of a new school of prison discipline, in which he has trained many who are now carrying out his principles, more or less perfectly, in various important positions. The Irish Directors, Captain Crofton, Captain Whitty, Captain Knight, all studied under him, and acquired his system, which they carried over to Ireland with excellent effect, so far as they adhered strictly to the principles of their model. Colonel Jebb's new plan was that of 'release on order of license,' which was sanctioned by law in August 1853, by 16 and 17 Vict. cap. 99, and the first prisoners were released under it in October of the same year. It is impossible to ascertain how the name 'ticket-of-leave' originated; it does not occur in the statute, but it was speedily in every one's mouth, and to judge from the temporary literature of the day, the popular idea of it was, a 'ticket-of-leave to commit crimes.' In deciding on the demerits of this system, the public overlooked everything beyond the fact, that under it convicts were set at liberty. It was forgotten that these 'ticket-of-leave men' formed only a very small per centage of the criminals constantly at large, and living by their crimes. These amount, in Britain, to about 150,000; the number of licenses annually granted while the system was in operation was about 3000, or two per cent. on the whole number. It was also taken for granted, that these men were the worst and most desperate characters, all of them bloodthirsty ruffians, ready to perpetrate any atrocity. The very reverse was the case. Most of those thus liberated were rather past the prime of life, and had been greatly subdued by their time in prison, so that, in very many cases, their motives

motives to crime, and their taste for it, had greatly abated, if not altogether disappeared. There are exceptions, but the general rule is as now stated.

The public took no reckoning of the truly dangerous class of criminals—those in the vigour of youth, and full of uncontrolled lusts and passions; who, irritated by repeated short imprisonments, are daily set free from our smaller prisons and police offices, not ameliorated by lengthened prison discipline, but turned out without money, without character, and with scarcely a possibility of making a livelihood, except by crime—and they were fifty times more numerous than the holders of licenses. Further, it was carefully kept out of view that the very class of persons who held licenses had always been at large amongst us, without license, not indeed the whole, but the greater part of them. For many years, only a portion of those sentenced to transportation actually left the country, the rest were detained in prisons at home for a certain time, and then set at liberty: in addition to these, a portion of those actually transported returned home after the expiry of the sentences, and a small number contrived to escape and return to Britain. These last might not unreasonably be objects of dread, for they were generally active, resolute men, not ameliorated, but confirmed in every evil propensity by their residence in Australia, and the means they had adopted to escape. On the whole, the license-men made a very unimportant addition to our criminal population. But the greatest blunder which the public made was overlooking entirely, or not in the least appreciating, the system of training which each prisoner enjoyed, and the proof he gave of having profited by it, previous to obtaining his license. This formed the *essential part* of the system, yet it was never alluded to by its opponents, unless in the way of occasional ridicule. It would be a mistake to say that this was devised as a part of the license system; on the contrary, it formed part of the improved prison discipline: it had grown up before licenses were imagined;* but it was that which made licenses practicable, safe, and expedient, when the necessity for them arose. The license itself was a protection to the holder so long as he behaved well; it was conclusive against him if he behaved ill: it was preserved by the well-intended; it was destroyed by those who resolved to return to crime. Considering the circumstances under which it was established, the plan was eminently successful, and gave the most convincing proof of the soundness of the principles on which the whole system of prison discipline had been advancing; and on this account, and not merely as an ingenious mode of tiding over a temporary difficulty, we look back upon it with much interest.

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* Licenses were first introduced in the penal settlements.

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The license was granted only to men who had worked their way up in the prison scale of merits, by good behaviour, liable to be forfeited by misconduct at any stage of the progress; and with full consciousness of the difficulty of truly testing character within the walls of a prison. All this, however, the public forgot. The man had been a prisoner, his character had been at one period justly forfeited; and no regard was paid to the long and careful training through which he had passed; and no confidence was placed in his professed design to reform, and to live an honest life in future, if he only could by possibility obtain the means of so doing. This treatment was neither very just nor very generous; and yet, considering what liberated prisoners were in former years, and that up to the sudden adoption of the new plan those of our criminals who were considered to be the worst had been effectually removed from sight, and even from memory, it was by no means unnatural. If the public would only have had patience to ascertain results before deciding, the merits of the plan would have been satisfactorily established. Colonel Jebb, on announcing it, expressed his hope that not above 15 or 20 per cent. of those liberated on license would return to crime; and in his last report, 1856-57, the number of licensed men detected in crime was 18 per cent., or, out of 7335 licensed, 1319 forfeited their licenses, and the greater part of these not for serious but for trifling offences, such as vagrancy, poaching, or simple larceny, and comparatively few of outrages calculated to alarm society, 2 of murder, 4 of arson, 121 of robbery, and 210 of felonies. Of ordinary criminals liberated from the common prisons of England, 34 per cent. are recommitted, or nearly double the number of 'ticket-of-leave' men. The license system, however, was only temporary: it was intended to meet a special difficulty. It might, with certain modifications, have been continued, and it was not, properly speaking, a part of prison discipline; it was rather an experimental precaution taken to meet a sudden difficulty, and the outcry against it caused its speedy abandonment. We have been induced thus to dwell on it because the strong feeling which it excited has produced no small amount of groundless prejudice against the whole modern system of prison discipline. Fortunately, this feeling seems rather to have subsided since the obnoxious name of 'ticket-of-leave' has ceased to be employed.

Prisoners are now liberated after the very same process of moral training, but without any license, or any special superintendence; and the time of liberation depends wholly on the sentence passed by the judge, and is not modified by good conduct in prison, or by the opinion formed by prison officers of the man's fitness to return to the world; and this we cannot but think matter of regret. When the judge pronounces sentence, he can form no opinion as to the

the future state of the prisoner at the end of three, four, or five years; and we deem it most desirable to entitle every prisoner, by uniform good prison conduct, to redeem a small portion of his time—say a fifth, or even a tenth part. We believe that nothing would contribute more to facilitate the duties of prison officers, or to establish good habits in prisoners, for liberty is what they desire above all things; and it is no small advantage, if, by any motive, prisoners can be induced to conform to strict rules for a length of time. It is the commencement of good habits, though, no doubt, under peculiar circumstances; and we must acknowledge our persuasion that the greater part of mankind are guided in their daily conduct far more by habits than by firm, solid principles. Hence the value to society of good habits in men and women; while to each individual, right principle is the only sure foundation both for time and for eternity—'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.'

A very important part of the system remains to be noticed, viz., 'intermediate prisons,' and to Colonel Jebb we believe we are mainly, if not wholly indebted for them. They sprang up as the natural, almost the necessary, result of his improved system of treating the inmates of convict prisons. All who had bestowed attention on the subject knew that, however carefully he might be trained, every prisoner was exposed to extreme danger after liberation. He had spent years of his life in a highly-artificial state, more like a machine than a man. Everything he had to do was fixed for him: he rose, dressed, worked, ate, drank, slept, according to rule, and, provided he conformed exactly to the fixed routine of prison regulations, of which he was perpetually reminded, he had no occasion to use a single mental faculty; and with many the powers of the mind fell into a state of abeyance, and the only mental exercise was during the brief periods allotted to religious service and lessons. A man who has been for years thus placed is not well calculated to meet and overcome the temptations of the world; and this feeling led to the establishment of what is now the termination of the English system of prison discipline, the Intermediate Prison. The object proposed was gradually to prepare prisoners to return to society, just as a gardener prepares a tender plant for being exposed to the chills of our changeable climate by gradual exposure to its blasts. But the task is one of extreme difficulty. The man must be treated as a prisoner up to the last moment; he cannot be sent to associate with honest men outside the prison walls, because it would be an open breach of his sentence; nor can they be admitted inside for his benefit; and how can he be allowed to associate with his fellow-prisoners in such a manner as to be improved and not injured?

The first establishment formed for this purpose was the great prison at Portland, where the prisoners sleep in separate cells, but

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are associated at work during the day, in gangs, under very strict superintendence. Portland was built while the penal colonies were open, and the great object in view was to prepare the men for removal to Australia. Several other similar large establishments are now in full operation at Chatham, Portsmouth, Dartmoor, &c., and thither prisoners, after probation at Pentonville, Millbank, Wakefield, and other prisons, are sent to work out the full period of their penal servitude. The principle on which all are conducted is that of forming habits of steady, persevering industry in men to whom, as a class, it had previously been unknown; and in addition to the continuance of the moral and religious training given under the separate system during the earlier portion of their imprisonment, and thus forming characters which employers might willingly receive into their service. On the whole, this experiment has been successful, owing to the very careful superintendence exercised, the judicious rules laid down, and, above all, to the inestimable labours of the chaplains and teachers, both in the intermediate and in the preparatory prisons; for we have no faith in any reformation which is not built on the foundation of Bible Christianity. The men are mostly employed in out-door work, such as is calculated to fit them for industrious labour either at home or abroad.

One experiment tried at Portland, as a further step in preparation, signally failed, as might, indeed, have been anticipated—viz., associating a large number in one dormitory during night. It was offered as a reward to the best-conducted men; and the convincing proof of its failure is found in the fact, that the best men soon petitioned to be permitted again to occupy their solitary night cells, and thus escape the contamination to which they were exposed.

The various convict prisons in England are now in full operation, and each year's reports give valuable additions to our experience, though years must still elapse before much evidence can be obtained from the conduct of prisoners set at liberty after sentences of penal servitude.

Meanwhile a somewhat novel experiment has been commenced by Captain Crofton and the other directors of convict prisons in Ireland, too recent to enable any one to form a very decided opinion upon its merits. It has long been very generally admitted that what was now most wanted for convicts was some means of providing remunerative employment instantly on liberation. The chief peculiarity of Captain Crofton's plan consists in providing this previous to the expiry of the sentence, instead of after it. He admits them to a sort of half liberty. They go out of prison to work, under the careful superintendence of police and prison officers, as well as of their employers, and they return every night to dormitories,

tories, where they sleep in gangs of fifty or more; and they are allowed to have a small portion of wages kept for them, ready for the time of their final liberation—not so much, however, as they can earn by work in prison in England.

They are thus gradually permitted to associate with other men, and their conduct is tested by their resistance of the various temptations to which they are exposed. Some of them go to work in numerous bodies, others singly, or in twos and threes, as employment can be procured. The work goes on as in a convict prison in England, with this essential difference, that it is done outside the prison.

Admitting at once the perfect accuracy of Captain Crofton's numerical returns, the question immediately occurs, Are there any peculiarities which make the results special, or may we confidently expect the same results whereon the same system is employed? It is very obvious that the full effect of any such experiments cannot appear until a much onger period shall have elapsed from their commencement. Each succeeding year must add to the percentage of those who return to crime. It was so in England in regard to the tickets-of-leave. The number of re-convictions necessarily increased year after year, as the lessons, and experience, and resolutions of the prison were forgotten, until it gradually rose to 18 or 20 per cent., at which it appears to have settled.

One natural question is whether Irish criminals, as a body, are different from those of England or Scotland—are they less debased, less steeped in crime, or are they more impressible, and more easily turned from criminal pursuits? In Britain they are, to some extent, a peculiar, marked, and separate class from the rest of society. We have many criminals who have never been convicted, who have thus never appeared in prison returns; but still, as a class, our criminals differ widely and unmistakeably from the rest of society, and they are repelled from it in a manner which it is difficult to blame, and yet impossible not to regret. Irish prisoners are, however, described as being very much the same with other people by Mr. Organ, the very active and energetic lecturer to the prisoners at Smithfield:—

'I have not been able to discover that the ordinary class of well-conducted convicts are in any respect of mind, morals, passion, or feeling, inferior to those of their class of life whom it was my duty to instruct before I became connected with the convict service.' *

The following are the results given by Captain Crofton in his 'Notes on Colonel Jebb's report,' p. 28:—

Discharged from intermediate prisons since January, 1856		1,327
Of whom unconditionally	511	
„ on license	816	
		1,327

* Third Report of Irish Directors, p. 83.

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Of the 511, only 5 have returned to convict prisons, or 1 per cent. Of the 816, only 30 have been re-committed, or not quite 4 per cent., and 15 more have lost their licenses from failure to report themselves, drunkenness, &c., &c. This is a degree of success far surpassing what has been attained in England.

There are, however, various circumstances besides the alleged character of the convicts which make it unfair to compare the Irish with the English results, and which would lead to great disappointment were it attempted to import the whole Irish system into England, and set it to work along with our strict ideas of obedience to law in everything connected with prisoners. One peculiarity in the Irish system, if we are not mistaken, is that the convicts experimented on appear not to be average ordinary prisoners received at Smithfield, as they come from all parts of Ireland, but are specially selected for the purpose on account of their good conduct in the various probationary stages. All the others are liberated as their sentences expire, and we hear nothing of them. But we do not require to be told how 96 or 99 per cent. of such selected men will turn out on liberation; unquestionably they will do well, and after a similar selection there can be no doubt of results in England quite equal to those in Ireland. What we want to know is, the result of a system in preparing the whole body of convicts, good, bad, and indifferent, for liberation.

Again, the late lord-lieutenant of Ireland gave every aid in his power to Captain Crofton in carrying out his experiments, and much praise is due to Lord Carlisle for thus exercising his powers, and still more for the personal interest and trouble he took in the work; but it is clear that, with his viceregal powers, he could give an amount of aid which would not be tolerated on the part of any official on this side the channel. He could pardon, he could commute sentences; and taking it for granted at once that he did so most judiciously in every case, it is clear enough that, with such support, Irish directors can work their system so as to produce results which could never be attained in England. The numerical results are quite true, but they are *special* not *general*.

In England we cannot understand how a *prisoner* could be employed out of prison in the face of his sentence. If the governors of English prisons were relieved from their responsibility as regards safe custody, we have no doubt that scores, or even hundreds of men might be selected who, under the direction of a single warder or foreman, would execute work for the public, or for private individuals, and return most regularly to their quarters at night, and never commit any breach either of law or of regulations; but would public opinion in England tolerate this? It would be invaluable *after* the expiry of the sentence, when the man was no longer a prisoner; but during the professed con-

tinuation of *imprisonment* it seems a contradiction in terms. One part of the new Irish system seems to be a great mistake—the associated sleeping-ward for fifty or a hundred convicts. The experience of Portland, already alluded to, proved its evils there; and even without experience it appears far too dangerous an experiment to be tried in the present advanced state of our knowledge of the character of prisoners. The obvious intention is to take one step more to prepare the convict for society; but with whom does this plan bring him in contact during night? Not with such average characters as he may hope to meet in the world, but with convicts like himself. Many of them—the great majority—may be desirous to do well, but the presence of even two or four per cent. of evildoers endangers the whole; the oaths or filthy expressions used by one or two will pollute the minds of all present: they cannot escape, and why unnecessarily expose them? The associated room is a completely retrograde movement. An associated dormitory is an evil thing, even for men who have never been convicts, for men of more than average good character.

One objection to the whole plan is, that it is evidently intended to act by exposing the men *first to small temptations;* but the greatest knaves are the very men who would most successfully pass through such an ordeal. Many of them have great self-control when it suits their purpose, and would despise themselves if they yielded to petty temptations. Another circumstance seems to prevent the possibility of a fair comparison betwixt English and Irish convicts. It is much easier for an Irish than an English criminal to procure employment after liberation, for the fact of his having been in prison is not felt to be so damaging to his character in the one country as in the other. It is not very easy to explain this, but probably one great cause is that so many Irish have unhappily for many years past become inmates of prisons for agrarian offences, who are regarded by their countrymen more as martyrs than as criminals; and thus the stigma left by imprisonment in Ireland is less deep by far than in England or Scotland, and it therefore interposes little or no obstacle in the way of obtaining employment. A similar feeling formerly prevailed to some extent in Scotland in connection with convictions for illicit distillation—happily altered by a change in the law—and it exists in many parts of England, to a limited extent, in connection with convictions under the game laws.

There are two points in the Irish system which deserve all praise. The lectures delivered by Mr. Organ and others to the convicts are invaluable, not merely from the actual solid information they may convey, but as introducing new ideas, new subjects of thought into unfurnished minds, to say nothing of the pleasant variety of so spending a portion of a long winter evening. But the

the exertions made to procure situations for the prisoners after the expiry of their sentences are the most important part of the whole. We do not know that they exceed those of the English prisons; but alike in Ireland, in England, and in Scotland, this is the most essential of all things for the future well-being of the convicts. In carrying them out, not only the active exertions of the prison officials are necessary, but these must be met and effectually aided by enlightened co-operation on the part of the public; and we cannot but think that, in many ways, government might do much to aid the good work. It ought ever to be remembered that the employment of those who are or have been prisoners is no encroachment on the labour-market. They ought to have been all their lives honest, self-supporting; and supposing their moral diseases to have been cured, they only return, on liberation, to the place they ought always to have occupied, like convalescents returning to their ordinary work from an hospital.

There seem to be objections to the plan of mixing up *imprisonment* and half liberty. The question really is this:—Ought the convict to pass a period of half liberty before his liberation, or should it be after it? The latter seems preferable. Let the prisoner pass his time of sentence, which is now a period not merely of punishment, but also of careful moral training, as a prisoner; but instantly on liberation a place should be ready for him where work and wages wait him, and that not associated in large bodies of fifty or a hundred liberated convicts, but as much as possible mixed with ordinary working men, and at a distance from his old associates, but each still under superintendence—strict, but not conspicuous—which is perfectly attainable. One principal doubt, then—and it is only a doubt—on the whole matter of the Irish experiment is, whether this liberated work should go on during sentence, or after its expiry; and perhaps the doubt very much arises from old impressions of the meaning of the word *imprisonment*—we cannot separate it from *confinement*. This might be overcome by altering the form and words of sentence.

Captain Crofton is quite right in his endeavours to *individualise* prisoners; it is essential to success, and his collecting them into associated sleeping-rooms is a departure from it and a return to dealing with them in masses.

The chief difference betwixt the Irish and English systems as to procuring employment on liberation seems to be that in England the work is devolved on the chaplains, while in Ireland it is discharged by the governors and directors. This is a mere matter of detail, not affecting the principle. The individual correspondences published by Colonel Jebb in his Report for 1854-55 are in themselves deeply interesting, and also most instructive as proofs of what can be done by taking an interest in each individual case, and as show-

ing that, in general, the well-intended convicts will have no objection to be in quiet communication with police and prison authorities—that they look on them not as spies but as friends. The public look with anxiety for further reports from the Irish directors. The experiment is based on the progress already made in England, without which it would have been impossible; the half liberation and the evening lectures are new. The powers of the lord-lieutenant might be intrusted to an English secretary of state; to a small extent they are so at this moment, but not sufficiently to work out such a system.

One great practical difficulty is to keep liberated prisoners safe from the temptation of old associates, men who have long lived on crime, but, unfortunately for themselves and for the public, may never have been convicted, or, if convicted, have not been reformed by prison discipline. These men are one great cause of others relapsing into crime; but with our strong feelings of jealousy of any interference with the liberty of the subject, except in cases of actual crime, it seems vain to attempt to punish them. They wait at the prison doors for the liberation of a comrade, supply him with strong drink, and put him at once on the highway to crime, without, perhaps, directly inciting to it, and thus in half an hour undo all the good of months of prison discipline and of good resolutions. One evil, much felt by all who have studied the subject, might easily be remedied by law—viz., the great variety of sentences pronounced by different judges for precisely similar crimes, especially in the case of second, third, or fourth convictions. There is nothing to which criminals are more alive than certainty or uncertainty in the law, and nothing would tend more to deter from return to crime than the absolute certainty of incurring longer, severer punishment on occasion of each re-conviction.

We still need one kind of prison not yet provided—and that is for *incurables*, for those whose moral and mental perversity is so great that no human discipline can improve them, and who cannot be left at liberty with due regard to the safety of the persons and property of others. It is a most melancholy fact that there are such persons, and regard to their own good, as well as that of others, demands that they be permanently placed in circumstances where they can at least do no harm. Such a place must be something betwixt a lunatic asylum and a prison, partaking of the nature of both.

It is impossible not to regret the loss of transportation to a distant land for a large portion of our criminals. It was the best plan for all parties, and could be so regulated as to be unobjectionable. Surely the vast extent of unoccupied land in the British colonies might easily furnish one suitable locality after another for our convicts, for many years to come. The idea ought to be

to

to employ them as pioneers, to diminish, and at length to stop, the supply as the locality became independent, or indifferent to convict labour, but having new localities ready to receive it as the older were supplied. None ought to be sent abroad for short periods, and all ought to be encouraged to remain as free settlers after the expiry of their sentences. None ought to be sent out without having satisfactorily passed through the various probationary stages in prison, for it is folly to send a criminal direct from the dock to a colony, and expect him to do well without any preparation. After he arrives in the colony, all temptations, and especially strong drink, must be kept out of his way, and moral and religious instruction amply supplied; and if, with all these advantages, he still goes wrong, the country will have the satisfaction of knowing that it has fully done its duty towards him.

There are many important points in prison discipline to which no allusion has been made. Our limited space, already overpassed, forbids our entering on them; but we cannot review the progress which has been made without feeling much cause to be thankful to God for the position which this great *science* has now assumed. The principles on which it is based are unquestionably sound; improvements in practice may yet be introduced; but, even as it is, the results are very good—better than could have reasonably been anticipated. But, with all this, we cannot but feel that the best prison discipline is but a *secondary* good.

It is, after all, but curing an evil which, to a large extent, might and ought to be prevented. Firmly convinced of the corruption of human nature, we reject all visionary ideas of human perfectibility, and of bringing the world, by human laws and human agencies, to be a world without crime; but far below such ideal attainments we do look hopefully for a far less criminal state than that which now exists. To attain this, many Christian agencies are required, and none of any other description will be of any avail. Some of them are now in very active operation, others may yet be discovered or more efficiently applied; and of this we have not a doubt, that were every child born in Great Britain truly brought up in the 'nurture and admonition of the Lord,' and duly supplied with secular knowledge, and if the present licensed inducements to drunkenness and licentiousness were removed, a generation would not pass away ere many a large prison would be tenantless. Well-managed industrial or ragged schools are far more effective in the repression of crime than the castle at York or the prison of Portland, for they cut off the supply of criminals at the fountain-head.

ART. II.—1. *Les Lionnes pauvres.* By Emile Augier. Paris: Michel Levy.
2. *Fanny — Etude.* By Ernest Feydeau; with a Preface by Jules Janin. Paris: Amyot.

NOTHING is better worth studying than success. What succeeds means something, and the fact of its succeeding furnishes the clue to a particular state of the public mind. The large sale of works of the highest order in art—of books such as Grote's 'History of Greece,' or Ruskin's Æsthetical Dissertations, or Humboldt's 'Cosmos'—proves simply the degree of curiosity and of intellectual activity in the educated classes: it affords no proof of what the moral tendencies of a whole population are. It touches upon an educational, not upon a social fact. The finest work ever conceived upon a political, historical, scientific, or artistic subject, may be the produce of an age, the social and domestic morality whereof are of a very inferior order; but a popular novel or play that 'all the world' rushes to see or to buy, cannot be otherwise than the indication of the general moral tendencies of the population. The less such a production means as to literature the more it signifies as to morality. It would not be in everybody's hands if it did not reflect everybody's thoughts. It is not its merit but its success that should be studied.

We have before us two productions of the contemporary literature of France, which, if they mean anything, mean what it is impossible not to look upon as of the highest importance, and which, if they were unmeaning, could not have attained to the success they have achieved. All Paris has flocked to see 'Les Lionnes pauvres' at the Vaudeville, and Messrs. Ste.-Beuve, Jules Janin, and the journalists whose business it is in Paris to point out to the public all new literary productions of any value, with one accord affirm that 'Fanny' is in the hands of 'every woman' in France. Jules Janin opines that the more 'virtuous' (!) the woman the less harm she will see in the book, but that, virtuous or not, there is no woman throughout France who will not, or who, indeed, by this time has not read it.

'Fanny' is a tale in one very small volume, of which M. Janin has written the preface; 'Les Lionnes pauvres' is, as we have said above, a comedy in five acts, performed at the Vaudeville, and whose author is M. Emile Augier, the well-known dramatist, and recently-elected member of the *Académie Française.* We should wish, in a few words, to make our readers acquainted with the subjects of these two productions of the modern French muse.

'Fanny' is the history of a young man of twenty-four, who is in love with a woman of thirty-five. The lady's heart (if in all this there

there be a question of anything in the shape of 'heart') seems to be agreeably divided, however, between her lover and her husband; and the jealous tortures of the former are what furnish the chief matter for the seventy-four chapters of what the critic Ste.-Beuve does not scruple to denominate a 'poem.' 'A poem,' he exclaims, 'from its form, its language, and a certain tone that reigns throughout:' (*un certain souffle qui y règne d'un bout à l'autre*). There are details in this book that the English reader will easily understand we cannot possibly enter into, and which we firmly believe a French public only can consent to be made familiar with. But we might as well agree to ignore the present state of French civilisation altogether as shut our eyes to the existence of such works as this 'Fanny.' With the book itself, therefore—because it has had such a success, because it is in everybody's hands, because it is, as M. Janin apprises us, 'hidden under every toilet-table'—with the book itself we must, for all these reasons, have to do; and, in spite of the repugnance, of the disgust with which it inspires us, we must either, to a certain degree, initiate our readers into the hideous mysteries of its pages, or forego what we take to be a duty—that, namely, of watching the rise or fall of the public morals in other countries. Since the universal establishment of railroads and electric telegraphs, and since steam has set time and distance at nought, England no longer

> 'Coops from other lands her islanders.'

She is almost as much surrounded by the moral atmosphere of 'other lands' as by her own; consequently, there is as much need to analyse the vitiated state of that atmosphere as there was to inquire into the filthy condition of the Thames, when the whole legislature of Great Britain was made sick by its emanations.

The subject of the 'Lionnes pauvres' is, like that of 'Fanny,' a variety of adultery; this crime being, apparently, to the literature of fiction in France, what Montesquieu's 'special public virtue' is to each special form of government: that, without which it could not subsist. It has been said of Russia that its political form is 'despotism tempered by assassination;' it may, without too great severity, be said of France, that her social edifice is based upon money-matches mitigated by adultery.

The peculiar 'variety' of the crime made use of by M. Augier in his new comedy is that of pecuniary corruption. It is not the adultery which results from sentiment misguided and uncontrolled—the adultery of weakness, in short—no; it is the adultery of speculation. M. Augier, an observer somewhat of the Balzac school, a man whose opinion of his countrymen and women is ratified by his countrymen and women's approbation, *i. e.*, by popularity — M. Augier deliberately represents contemporary society in Paris (which city, we are told, embodies all France) and

and especially the female portion of society, as far more perverse than frail.

One word upon 'Les Lionnes.'

The term is a modern one, and does not date further back than ten or a dozen years. The first time it was applied in print we take to have been somewhere about the year 1842-3, in a three-volumed novel, entitled 'Les Lionnes de Paris,' written by the late Countess Merlin, and not by any means the best effort of the pen of that amiable and talented lady. Madame Merlin, however, amiable, talented, and popular as she was, very nearly compromised her social position by this work; for though it achieved no great success, its title remained as a stigma upon the class least likely to forgive such an attack; and the flashy, immoral set, of whom certain high-born ladies it would be but too easy to name were the leaders, admitted their right to the epithet of 'lionne' by their very anger at its having been applied to them. Little by little the word crept into general usage, and any woman who in any measure overstepped the boundaries whereby what is called 'good society' in France hedges itself in, was immediately pointed at by the 'over-righteous' as a 'lionne.' The only true translation of the term 'lionnerie' into English is to be found in the Americanism we have so triumphantly introduced into our fashionable vocabulary—'fast.' To be a 'lionne' is to be what we should now call 'very fast,' only there is a vast difference in the mode of execution on the two sides of the Channel. We will exemplify:—the heroine of that clever and much-read book 'Kate Coventry' is the very arch-type of all that is most irreclaimably 'fast;' the book is the record of how 'fast' an English girl may be without doing anything really blameable. Here we have the difference; Kate Coventry is a young girl, in French civilisation she could not be anything save a married woman. Imprudent in the one case, she would inevitably be guilty in the other. The difference between what is 'fast' in England and what is so in France lies simply in the introduction of the principle of wrong. The 'lionne' is of many kinds, but it is almost impossible to conciliate her existence with that of good reputation or good conduct.

Up to the close of Louis Philippe's reign, the 'lionne' was simply an ardent votary of what, in his defence of Madame Lafarge, M. Paillet denominated 'la famosité.' She sacrificed everything for notoriety, and the one thing she aspired to was to be talked about. Up to ten years ago, extravagance had not attained its present pitch; 'le luxe' had not been actually held up to the whole nation as a public and political virtue; and not only was it possible for a woman in society to mix in all the gatherings of the great world, dressed as fitted her husband's more or less well-known fortune,

fortune, but if she was suspected of employing any illicit resources in the payment of her own private bills, she was coldly looked upon, and, if convicted of the infamy, she was 'cut.' Up to the period of the Revolution of February there was a line drawn between the women whose fidelity to their lords was more than questionable, and those who in such infidelity found a pecuniary resource. Since 1848 things have changed altogether. Extravagance has been transformed into a positive duty; not to dress in a certain way has been made for Parisian women the equivalent of not to be; and provided they contrive now to frequent the haunts of 'the world' with due brilliancy of appearance, 'the world' tacitly consents not to examine whence these appearances proceed.

This alteration has not been effected suddenly, from the day to the morrow. No; like most of the changes of careless disease, it has marched by gradual steps, securing by to-day's progress the conquest of yesterday, and arriving, by the very gentleness of its advance, at the perfection of unresisted evil. After the overthrow of every social distinction, after the comparative annihilation of society in February, 1848, the first attempt at a return to its pleasures and its conventionalities was made by the Prince-President, Louis Napoleon, a man who, from the combined circumstances of birth, education, political chances, and personal instincts, was devoid of any of the prejudices (!) which should influence the ruler of a state in favour of what, in this country, we somewhat exclusively term morality. The level to which the morals and manners of society sank in France during the five years of Louis Napoleon's unmarried life, the tone of the so-called 'court' at the Elysée—all this is, we imagine, but too notorious throughout the civilised world; and were it not so, any attempt to describe it minutely to the English reader must be forbidden us by the respect with which that same reader inspires us. Suffice it to say, that the first five years' possession of supreme power by the Prince-President had mainly helped to destroy social morality in France. It no longer became a question of why this or that person should be welcomed in the 'world,' but rather of why any one should be excluded.

And yet there remained a further downward step to take in all this degradation. We will not affirm that French society has taken it, but we will quote the words of M. Augier, in his recent piece: 'Men speculate on 'Change; women have another little traffic—it is in the air (!); and, after all, these turpitudes are now the secret of Polichinelle. On the one hand, is the greediness for what you don't possess; on the other, the rage to seem to possess more than you have. Pride, vanity, crinoline! parbleu! The whole thing is easy enough to explain.'

We are perfectly aware of how extremely difficult and delicate is the nature of the task we have undertaken to perform; but still we doubt

doubt the expediency of, for that reason, leaving it altogether unperformed; and we ask any reflecting man whether such a condition of the public morals as stands revealed by the words we have just quoted, and by the fact of those words being nightly uttered to the applause of a theatreful of people; whether, we repeat, such a condition of the public morals in any one given country ought to be a matter of indifference to the philosophical student in any other?

We have said, and we repeat, that what, in the literature of fiction, does not correspond to any particular state of the public mind, and does not excite any popular emotion, does not succeed. What sells—what, to use a cant phrase, 'takes'—is what, with more or less acuteness of outline, or more or less force, reflects the image that is for the moment uppermost in the public idea. From 1830 onwards, you find, as the vital principle of French literature of fiction—adultery. Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, Madame Sand, Alfred de Musset, Balzac, all the writers of any mark own the one same impulse. They call this the 'reawakening of passion;' they say it is the assertion of its rights by the human heart, which had by the classical school been 'cabinn'd, cribb'd, confin'd,' and forced to express what it was not natural it should feel. Nothing of all this is true. It is *not* the breath of passion that animates the school of writers of the 'period of July:' it is the breath of wrong. Passion is not necessarily impure, nor is wrong poetical *per se;* yet here is the mistake made by the entire school of French writers of twenty or twenty-five years ago. The type of that time is *Antony*, in Alexandre Dumas' drama of that name. It was declared by the readers of what was then 'Young France' that all restraint was intolerable, and contrary to the dignity of the human race; and they rebelled against whatever served to define man's position with regard to his Creator or to his fellowmen. They rebelled against the restraint of religion, the restraint of the law, or the restraint of morality. Pascal's maxim duly remembered, 'Qui veut faire l'ange fait la bête,' it may be said that the theorists of 1830, aspiring to be more than men, in reality sank down to be far less.

Antony, the type, as we say, of the 'July period,' was the incarnation of revolt from cradle to grave. The public admired, and was called upon to admire him, because he was a pariah; because he had no parents, but was found somewhere by some one, and educated heaven knows how. The theory sought to be established was that of the necessary inferiority entailed upon whomsoever was in tranquil possession of a legitimate father and mother! Adèle d'Hervey, Antony's ladye-love, was, of course, a married woman, whose husband was guilty of the one sole crime of representing the 'odious restraint' imposed by society upon people

people who have imprudently consented to the matrimonial yoke. Adultery, as is self-evident, is the vital principle of this absurd, immoral, and abominably ill-written play of Dumas, the enthusiasm for which was long-enduring and universal. But, be it at the same time remarked, the sin of adultery suffices, in this case, as the medium of dramatic interest. It is bad enough, in all conscience, standing as it does alone; but at all events, if immorally, it is not *lightly* treated, and is regarded as an agent of perturbation, perfect in itself, and not needing any concomitant.

Now, matters are different, and France has gone considerably further. The mere plain sin no longer satisfies these over-refined gourmets, these epicures of vice, and they ask for more spice, more *montant*, in the unwholesome food that is prepared for their worn-out palates. Adultery is still admitted as the groundwork of their fictions, but even as a popular air affords the musician a pretext for the development of his skill in variations. Adultery is not to be dispensed with, but it is 'used up,' as is 'Ah! vous dirai-je, maman!' or any other old tune with which the public ear is satiated, and which can henceforth only be made interesting by its accessories.

We request our readers to reflect for one moment upon the moral health of a people where such a state of things exists.

Let us now see, in 'Fanny' and in 'Les Lionnes pauvres,' what are the 'accessories' which tend to ornament the eternal theme of adultery, and give it a new and pleasant air to the Parisian public.

The heroine of the 'Lionnes pauvres' is a certain Séraphine, who, from having been the ward of a respectable clerc de notaire, many years her senior, becomes his wife, and, penniless herself with expensive tastes, begins by imagining that her husband's four or five hundred a year (in English money) can, by dint of 'good management,' be made to furnish what she regards as the necessities of her toilet. Séraphine, or rather Madame Pommeau, as she becomes after her marriage, is not long in discovering her mistake; and the instant she has discovered, she sets to work to repair it. The whole affair is a perfectly methodical and business-like one, and from the first scene to the last not a sentence, not so much as a word, is wasted on sentiment. The adultery is there, as usual, seemingly inevitable; but you are not troubled with what brought it about. It *is*; and what the fact of its being is likely to yield—there is the interesting question. Why Madame Séraphine infringed the seventh commandment; what were the circumstances of that first sin; whether the 'strong necessity of loving,' to use Byron's phrase, had anything whatever to do in the matter; with all this you are not mixed up; you merely perceive that Madame Pommeau has arranged her household concerns

concerns after such a fashion that she spends thirty thousand francs a year, having, in reality, ten or twelve thousand to spend, pays her debts, and passes in her husband's eyes for the very pattern of good housekeepers.

Madame Séraphine has a female friend, Thérèse, who is a model of every womanly virtue, who is handsome and charming, but who, instead of spending what she has not upon the adornment of her person, does not spend what she has, watches well over her child, and wears somewhat faded bonnets and gowns (very unlike a Parisian, however well-behaved she may be!) Naturally, Thérèse's husband, a thriving young avocat, is the first victim of Madame Pommeau; and though he does not by any means obey the dictates of an insensate passion with regard to Séraphine, yet his entire substance is being wasted, day by day, to keep up the outward seeming of the greedy 'lionne pauvre.' All his gains go to furnish the laces, and feathers, and other 'colifichets,' without which the object of his attentions could not exist; and meanwhile, in his own interior, the servants remain unpaid, and the tradespeople are taking to grumble about their bills. Between the two happily united families of Lecarnier and Pommeau you may observe the constant play of a certain part of the domestic machinery which in Paris clearly indicates what is the moral condition of a household. Madame Séraphine spends too much, and pretends it all costs nothing; Léon Lecarnier spends too little, and is perpetually complaining that that little even is too much. He is the provider, she the absorbent; that is seen at once, and explains the whole. Has Séraphine a dress with three lace flounces that are worth ten thousand francs, she accounts for them, in the first place, by reducing their price to fifteen hundred, which sum she pretends she has realised in selling the few old-fashioned trinkets her mother left her. On the other hand, when meat, bread, domestic labour, and other necessities of life ask for their equivalent from Léon by the voice of his wife, he is at considerable pains to prove to her that his gains as an avocat cannot possibly suffice for her expenditure, and he enjoins upon her to be more economical for the future (!).

This, be it remarked, is a true picture.

'I cannot think how you contrive matters,' says, in the opening scene, Thérèse to M. Pommeau; 'you have barely five hundred a year.' The innocent notary replies that, with such capital management (!) as his wife's, it is enough; and Madame Lecarnier musingly adds, 'We have the double, yet I cannot live as you do.'

Pommeau proceeds to recount by what 'prodigies of cleverness and talent for bargaining' his wife succeeds in forcing a small income to accomplish great things, and he concludes by this: 'If Séraphine

Séraphine was, as you are, a mother, she could not devote herself in this way to ——' Here Thérèse interrupts him: 'The evident state of the case,' she observes, 'is this: half her time is employed in bringing together and creating her apparent luxury, and the other half in enjoying it, and showing it off! What remains over for you?' 'Oh,' replies M. Pommeau, meekly, 'I am not *exigeant!*'

Let it be duly registered: here we have the avowable part of the whole. A wife, whose whole existence ought to be one hymn of gratitude to the husband who has rescued her from poverty, and who surrounds her with affection, passes the greater portion of every day in low, huckstering practices, whereby she insures to herself, at less than its value, the possession of some second-hand piece of finery, to the public display whereof she consecrates the rest of the twenty-four hours! This is avowable. Against this her husband has nothing to say. If this were really her manner of behaving, Madame Séraphine Pommeau might pass muster with the most exemplary of Parisian ladies, rejoice in the esteem of her curé, offer the pain béni* to her parish church, and rest upon the comfortable conviction of having secured a 'through ticket' to Paradise. The achievement of respectability, it will be perceived, is not a despairingly difficult one. But Madame Pommeau's ways are not these merely prudent and ingenious ones. She does not, by dint of driving Jew bargains, and disguising dishonesty under the name of sharpness, manage to conciliate virtue (God save the mark!) with the semblance of wealth; her morals are not guarded by a rapacity so studiedly, so unthinkingly praised. She is as degraded as she can be, yet she would hardly be much less so if she were to realise what the 'respectable' people about her conceive her to be when they speak her free from sin.

The medium of dramatic interest, therefore, in 'Les Lionnes pauvres' lies in the more or less success of Madame Séraphine's manœuvres to secure the sums of which she is in want in order to pay a certain marchande à la toilette who threatens scandal if she be not paid on a certain day. The marchande à la toilette plays, in the degenerate society of contemporary France, pretty nearly the part of Destiny in the Greek drama; and she is often the source of all the mischief that is hidden beneath the brilliant outside of a French family, and as often the intermediate cause of the sudden explosion whereby the honour of the said family is cast to the winds.

Well, Madame Séraphine Pommeau does business to a tole-

* It is customary for each respectable inhabitant of a parish to offer at least once in the year the bread which is handed round at high mass, and which is usually made to consist of two or three large *brioches*.

rably

rably large amount with Madame Charlot, the marchande à la toilette, and instead of gaining, rather loses by the association; but Léon Lecarnier has hitherto found means to make the situation of the would-be 'lionne' easy to her by furnishing her with the money she requires. A day comes, however, when Léon's overtaxed resources fail, and four hundred pounds that are to be handed over to Madame Charlot on Friday morning before twelve o'clock are not to be heard of on Thursday night! Léon, not knowing which way to turn, tries play, and loses. Séraphine, really alarmed, but betraying no emotion, signifies that she must have the cash. The dunned inamorato seeks to borrow from his friend Bordognon, who knows the bearings of the whole case, and who, meaning to profit by the knowledge for his own personal ends, refuses to lend; and the fatal Friday morning brings with it Madame Charlot, and no means at hand to meet her demands! A mistake prevents Bordognon's ten thousand francs from being placed in Séraphine's hands. The marchande à la toilette is inexorable, and shows her bill to M. Pommeau. M. Pommeau pays; and when his wife comes in, quietly tells her he will pay all her debts, but insists on her telling him what they are, and to what sum they amount. All Séraphine's incurable degradation is laid bare when she finds that her husband's plan is to pay back every farthing she has 'gained' (!), and work for his livelihood (consequently for hers). This she cannot for an instant contemplate, and she replies to M. Pommeau's exclamation of 'Ah! wretched woman, poverty is what you cannot meet!' by the naïve admission that 'poverty frightens her.'

The last words of the closing scene between the notary and his wife are worth quoting:—

Pommeau. 'I raised her up from nothing, and the bread I can be content to eat is not good enough for her.'

Séraphine (*sharply*). 'And so, you taunt me with your benefactions, do you?'

Pommeau. 'I reproach myself for having fancied you deserved them.'

Séraphine. 'When people have not got fortune sufficient, they should not marry.'

Pommeau. 'Oh! monster of perversity!'

Séraphine. 'Why insult a woman? Kill her or quit her. *Will you tell me what has been my teaching in this world? What did my mother teach me? That to be happy you must be rich. What did society teach me? That to be respected you must be rich.* Pleasure and wealth are the gods proposed to our worship by every precept and every example; but when we adore them we are styled *monsters*. Well, *monster!* so be it! if I am one, abuse those whose fault that is. . . . .'

There is, alas! but too much truth in this cynical speech of Séraphine's. The idol deliberately set up by the world and by her own family—by her very mother even—(and be she a good or a bad, a moral or an immoral person), the idol set up to the worship of every Frenchwoman is—money! As a child, she hears those laughed at, and looked askance at, who have no money; as a girl

a girl, she never hears of the bare possibility of a marriage that has not money for its motive; as a young woman, she is actually brought to believe that her very charms are dependent upon gold, and that no beauty, however remarkable, will be remarked unless surrounded by all the proper accessories of beauty, namely, by luxury. She is forced to believe—society forces her to do so—that Venus herself, ill-dressed, would be no match for the most ordinary-looking little personage whose outward adornments should be the work of the few artists most in renown. And from this point she starts. When the end and aim of a woman's life is not marriage with the man she loves, her end and aim is then to please the men she does not marry. Let this be admitted, and you seize at once the raison d'être of the Parisian female. She lives to please; she cannot please unless she have money at her command; *ergo*, money is the one thing she must have at all and any cost. All the rest is a mere consequence, and an inevitable one. The day when Balzac dared to print that enormous piece of frivolity: 'Those only can be styled women who live upon a first-floor; those who lodge higher up may be housewives, they are not women!'—that day were sown broadcast among the 'menagères' of the upper stories the seeds of the 'Lionnes pauvres.'

The details of the way in which the system 'works' are thus given by M. Augier:—Léon has just observed to his friend, Bordognon, that 'he easily understands how a woman smuggles into her house a lover in disguise, but does not see how she is to introduce twenty thousand francs more than her income into her account-book' (which, by-the-by, is vastly hypocritical on M. Leon's part, seeing that he is the accomplice of Madame Pommeau in this very identical undertaking). Bordognon explains: 'I will give you the following fable,' says he, 'borrowed from the "Gazette des Tribunaux:"—Madame Z. extracts from Z., her legitimate lord and master, with Heaven knows what pains, a necklace of false diamonds, value one thousand francs. Five years after she dies. Z., when the proper time has been given to grief for this terrible loss, adverts to the advisability of selling his late wife's necklace: he rushes off to a jeweller, who, when he has well examined the ornament, offers without hesitation thirty thousand francs! Who is dumbfoundered at the affair is Z.! Now, what is to clear up the circumstances of the transmutation? Why, simply the daily visits of X. during the lifetime of the deceased, and the long purse of X., who is a stockbroker. This is the trick of the whole proceeding. What say you to it? is it not easy?'

Easy! we are disposed to say that it must only be *too* easy to those to whom education, inborn instincts of honesty and pride, and national and domestic traditions, do not make it impossible. The fact of such things as we have quoted being spoken night after

after night upon the Paris stage, and not only listened to, but greeted by the laughter and by the applause of a crowded theatre—acknowledged, therefore, as true and 'well observed' by *the public*—this fact it is which obliges us to notice such a piece as the 'Lionnes pauvres,' and, under pain of ignoring what the civilisation of our nearest neighbours is gradually becoming, to enter into details which, repugnant though they may be, prove too clearly the degree of corruption to which that civilisation has attained.

'Fanny' has to do with vice of another order, and of which it is infinitely more difficult to speak than of the pecuniary dishonesty and rapacity of the 'Lionnes pauvres.' Even Madame Séraphine Pommeau, with her kind husband deceived, her best friend taken in, and her male acquaintances in general treated as the 'vilis atque misera contribuens plebs,' by which title the Hungarian nobility were wont to designate the tax-paying multitude—even Madame Séraphine Pommeau is easy to describe in comparison with the would-be sentimental Madame Fanny and her would-be enamoured swain, M. Roger. Still, here again so striking a feature of Gallic civilisation offers itself to our comments that it is impossible not to examine it. Perhaps, even of the two, 'Fanny' is less Parisian and more French than the 'Lionnes pauvres.' The latter in some degree presuppose the habits and tastes of a large city, and of Paris above all other cities in the world; whereas 'Fanny' can exist, and does exist, in the most isolated château of the remotest province in France. For the creation of Fanny and Roger, it is only requisite to bring into play the French mind, as modified to its present unhealthy state by a long train of exterior events productive of certain moral tendencies. Bring to bear upon that mind—never a self-reliant, and always an impressible one—the effect of the literature of the last twenty-five years, the coarseness of Victor Hugo; the carelessness for virtue of Lamartine, who, though never actively immoral, is never actively the reverse; the cynicism of Balzac; the profligacy of Dumas; the impossible apprehension of any difference between right and wrong of George Sand; the bad taste of many, the impiety of all;—and you will soon reach the mental condition necessary for conceiving such a work as 'Fanny,' which M. Ste.-Beuve calls a 'poem,' and of which M. Janin says that 'the heroine's history is familiar to so many women (!), and that the virtuous only amongst them (!) will confess to having read it.'

As with the 'Lionnes pauvres,' and with the other productions of the modern French literature of fiction, adultery is taken for granted in the book before us. Not an excuse is attempted in the erring fair one's behalf, not a trace of any struggle between passion and duty is to be perceived: the reader is not expected to be

be surprised because she is an adulteress; on the contrary, it is quite clear the extraordinary thing would be that she should not be so. She has her lover; so far all is *en règle*, and she would be happy and comfortable enough, and thoroughly undisturbed by any notion of remorse, were it not that her adorer chooses to indulge in the most absurd and inconceivable fits of jealousy against her husband, for which eccentricity she perpetually repeats to him that he is 'a child—nothing but a silly, fractious child!'

The adultery granted therefore, the 'circumstances' of it in 'Fanny' are the result of the juxtaposition of the lover to the husband and the children; and the tortures of Roger at the thought of his mistress's infidelity to him are the 'variations' invented wherewith to ornament what we have said is an old, worn-out, barrel-organ theme.

'Fanny' is an autobiography. The hero himself, who has fled from the face of his fellow-men, and lives shut up in a miserable, dilapidated abode on the sea-shore, recounts to us all his miseries, and lays bare all the wounds from which he has suffered so long, and appears likely to suffer until death; (wounds dealt upon bodies in so thoroughly unhealthy a state being usually 'envenom'd with irrevocable wrong,' and utterly incurable).

He lays but little stress upon the fact of his having wooed or won his ladye-love; it is so manifestly natural a thing that she, being the wife of another man, should become Roger's mistress, that Roger does not trouble the reader with the details of his courtship. 'I loved her long without venturing to avow my love,' he tells us at the opening of the narrative. 'At last she saw that I loved her, and tranquilly, like a person who merely gets up from where she was sitting in order to remove an obstacle from her path, she herself put aside all the hindrances between us. Oh! for that it was, that, above all things, I adored her.'

Well, we will not stop to dispute about the more or less womanly delicacy of this mature Juliet, who so quietly and comfortably 'removes all obstacles' from the path of sin, and has such a pleasant, easy way of welcoming adultery; the sin *is* committed; an illicit affection binds together the hero and heroine of the novel; and now begin the incidents which are so particularly characteristic of modern French civilisation. At first, Roger does not allow himself to be troubled by any exterior preoccupation.

'I was so happy!' he exclaims, 'though my happiness was soon to cease. With true refinement of feeling, Fanny had for some time avoided making the slightest allusion to her husband in my presence. With a slight effort of imagination I might have fancied her free, instead of being, as she was, forced to divide her affections. But one day—I do not remember how it happened—the name of one of her children found its way to her lips, and thenceforth she was for ever talking of them to me. . . . I affected to feel an interest in them that was far from being genuine, for I was jealous of whatever she cared for . . . . .

but little by little, by dint of thinking of the children, I got to thinking of the husband, and I soon thought of nothing else in the whole world save him.'

One of Fanny's children falls ill, and for five or six weeks she is confined to the house to attend upon the infant whose life is despaired of. At the end of that time, the child being cured, she reappears in her lover's dwelling; but she finds him so altered towards her, that she supposes his attachment is at an end. Following up, however, the plan he has been preparing in secret during the period of separation, he artfully asks Madame Fanny why 'he is not received at her house?' Now, the description of the way in which she responds to this question is so peculiarly illustrative of the morals and social habits of modern France, that we cannot refrain from transcribing it for our readers:—

'Fanny had no suspicion that I was disguising my real sentiment, for on hearing my question of "why I was not a visitor at her house?" she became effulgent with smiles, and, in the sudden outbreak of her enchantment, asked me "why I had never expressed such a wish before?" she having all along entertained that identical desire. A perfect torrent of plans and projects of future happiness now flowed forth from her lips. She was full of the delights of what was to be our every-day existence; I should see her children and love them! She was busy, too, with domestic details; with plans for arranging more elegantly than ever the one particular little salon in which only her very intimate friends ever penetrated! How overjoyed she was to think that nearly every day of her life she should unite around her *all* the objects of her special tenderness! It was so delightful to reflect that, in this new combination, she should not be forced to *separate me* from the other inmates of her heart! I was to occupy such a large portion of her time, of her habitual life, and I was to be associated so immediately to her pleasures and pains! . . It was altogether such a charming prospect! such a charming dream!'

Yes! a 'charming prospect,' in truth, and one that could be thought such only by a Frenchwoman of the present day. Observe the hopeless confusion that is morally presented by the picture. Here is a woman, who, were she the denizen of any other save the civilisation she belongs to, would be divided between love and duty, whereas Madame Fanny, in reality, appreciates properly neither the duty nor the love, but, in her impure and absurd desire to conciliate, cheats both. She does not perceive what are the respective characteristics of each; does not see that what is requisite for the one is out of the requirements of the other. No! she would be well content to make matters square and comfortable by attributing a small portion of the love to the representative of the duty, and by lending a part of the decorum of the duty to the champion of the love. She ignores all moral incompatibilities, because she has refused throughout her life any sacrifice. Her sentiments and her principles are equally weak and ill-defined, and she will not see that there are elements whose combination is impossible. She cannot understand that, for the sake of right and virtue and duty, she should have prevented Roger from ever winning the position he has won, but that, when he has won it,

. . . . when

when she has fallen a victim to a passion which, if in every sense a reprehensible, we must suppose was, at all events, an overwhelming one—there is, or ought to be, one absolute impossibility for her, the putting face to face, namely, the man she has betrayed and the man for whom she has betrayed him. We all know that there are in the so-called world of fashion many so-called 'exigencies,' that sometimes render the avoidance of a false position impossible; nor do we mean to blink the knowledge. But we believe that by the men and women who, through their own weakness, have taken the one wrong step, the step downward, the false position, the bringing together familiarly of those who should never familiarly meet, is submitted to and not courted. Here, on the contrary, you have a woman who is false to every sentiment in turn; who is impressed by no truth and by no dignity; who does wrong because she has no principle; and who, when it is done, almost thinks she can convert wrong into right if she can only make it comfortable. We are not aware that this particular aspect of the moral confusion, that is to be found only in modern French society, has ever been so clearly painted as in the small volume before us.

'Fanny' is invaluable as a testimony of the degree of incapacity for distinguishing good from evil to which the public mind in France has attained. Its author *teaches nothing*, for he manifestly does not see the wrong committed by the beings he has created. He is their accomplice in impropriety. We use this word designedly, and not in the merely conventional sense our cant parlance attributes to it—we mean, that intense impropriety is the characteristic of the much-talked-of book we are now examining, because every individual in it is in an improper place, and acts from an improper motive. It is this which marks out 'Fanny' as so pre-eminently a work illustrative of the French manners and morals of the present day.

Human nature is the same, more or less, in all countries and all climes, but education is not the same, nor the public standard of excellence. An Englishman may do wrong—does do wrong far too often; but if he were tempted by that weakness which is man's inheritance of sin, into doing wrong fifty times in his life, that would never conduce, in the slightest degree, to make him think wrong right. In the French practice of morality, on the contrary, there is a vague notion that wrong may be right 'according to circumstances,' and that it is quite too harsh and too narrow-minded to say that there is such a thing as wrong-absolute.

What has struck none of those who in France have reviewed the extraordinary tale we are alluding to, is precisely the 'impropriety' which marks the characters and situations of the personages it represents. The husband, for instance; it is im-

possible to conceive of a man more thoroughly out of his own proper place. We must not look upon this individual as we should upon a husband moving and acting in our English centre of civilisation, and being the possible representative of the combined principles of love and duty; we must accept him for what a husband is in the continental system of marriage—for the impersonation of duty. Throughout the whole book he never once appears in this light. No one thinks of or adverts to him in what is his real form and shape; he forfeits all his attributes to assume those that belong to his inferiors. There is nothing dignified, nothing sacred about him, nothing that makes any offence against him fall back in tenfold shame on the offender. Roger does not hate in his mistress's husband the man whom *he* has wronged. No! on the contrary—by a perversion impossible out of the particular civilisation we are now considering—he hates the man who has wronged *him!* The author has plainly so little apprehension of what the relative weight and importance of the two personages are, that he lets the one slip down to the level of the other, without ever being struck by the fact that their equality is monstrous and impossible. Whatever may have been the cause, in the first instance, of the matrimonial tie, if, after it is made, one of the two persons making it be unfortunate enough to yield to the promptings of a headlong passion, it is self-evident that, from that hour, the other contracting party can represent but one principle only; the principle, namely, of duty as opposed to sentiment. This is exactly what is *not* the case in the book before us, and what is not the case in that moral chaos termed French society.

Fanny did not marry her husband for love, nor does she remain faithful to him from duty. She is described as madly adoring Roger, yet she cannot understand that he should be jealous of the one who has every right over her. She never once alludes to her husband as to her judge; as to the deponent in her hands of a sacred trust which she has betrayed; as to the confider to her care of an honour she has forgotten to guard; never in this work, so read, so admired, so 'well-observed' and true, according to the declaration of the most accredited French critics—never does it once happen that the husband is shown to us in his proper place. Roger is not jealous of him because he is Fanny's husband, but because he believes him to be something else!

But then comes the fearful question (which Roger never asks himself)—if Fanny could love him for whom she forfeits her honour moderately enough to allow of the feeling for her husband which Roger supposes, why, then, did she ever overstep the barrier of her duties? Where is her excuse? her only one? She has none. Here we touch upon the reason for which, above all others, 'Fanny' is a book that every psychologist should read attentively.

attentively. Fanny is the portrait of a whole class. Fanny herself is the type of the modern Frenchwoman; a charming creature in mere drawing-room life, in whom there is nothing profound or genuine, and who is incontestably the voluntary accomplice of her own mischievous deeds, because she is never led astray by passion.

It is eternally true that reaction is everywhere equal to action. Now, from a cruel and humbly-accepted expiation, you may infer a passionate love, as a really blind and self-immolating love leads almost invariably either to death or to a sincere and lasting repentance. The fruits prove the nature of the tree. The soul that bore the strong love will bear the strong remorse, and the strong honesty, which, recoiling from the idea of theft, yearns to pay as dearly as it can for what has been enjoyed. There was a time when the women of France were other than they are now, and when their honesty was ready to pay the price of happiness to which they had no right. The names of Madlle. de Lafayette, Madame de Longueville, Madame de la Vallière, and many, many others, are there to testify that this assertion is correct. Before the sin that is sincerely, honestly sought to be atoned for; before the punishment unrepiningly accepted for what we must then suppose was a really irresistible attraction, we may pity and deplore, we must pause ere we condemn; for we touch upon the limits of man's fallibility, and upon that delicate, scarcely-visible boundary line beyond which lies the measureless expanse of Divine mercy.

In all this there is truth; and where truth is, even though coupled with frailty, we should hesitate to judge. But the case we have to do with at present is just the opposite one. The one thing that marks the civilisation of France in our present day is absence of truth. Everything is a matter of seeming, of grimace. All is hollow in the morals of the French race, and hollowest of all is the feminine portion of that race. Strength is the root of all honesty, and the leading defect of the French race is its moral weakness. The author of 'Fanny' makes his heroine exclaim upon one occasion, 'I know, and I confess it, *nature has not given me any strength of soul!*' There lies the harm. There is nothing large or generous; no generous desire to expiate, but also no ungovernable impetus driving passionwards. Frenchwomen of this day cannot invoke the power of the Irresistible as an excuse, for the very reason that in their own narrowness of feeling lies their faculty of resistance. Passion is suffering; to love sincerely is to suffer; and to those who really suffer, forgiveness may be vouchsafed. But what shall be the measure of indulgence to those who, without suffering, sin?—to those who are dishonest at once both to duty and to love?

We

We will not answer this; but we refer those who may think us prejudiced in our opinions upon modern France, to the works of contemporary French literature, in which the 'ordinary run' (*i. e.*, the large majority) of French people profess to recognise the truest picture of French society. If any venture, for we cannot recommend them, to read 'Fanny' and 'Les Lionnes pauvres,' after the perusal, let them say whether the principal difficulty of the English critic be not that of choosing from among the details wherewith each page abounds those that he can offer to the English public as proofs of the degradation depicted.

ART. III.—*History of Friedrich the Second, called Frederick the Great.* By Thomas Carlyle. Vols. I. and II. London: Chapman and Hall. 1858.

THE appearance of a new work from the pen of Mr. Thomas Carlyle carries with it an interest which it has seldom been the lot of authorship to command. No sooner are the public cognisant of the fact than journalists and reviewers, at all points of the compass, are seen ready, pen in hand, to do their part for the benefit of their readers, by way of extracts, criticism, and judicious comment. The whetted appetite grows by what it feeds on. The demands of the impatient reading public must be supplied. Booksellers are courteous and accommodating; and a new edition is called for in a few weeks. Thus the author, who fought his way into general notice with slow enough advances, has at length gained a position to command an immediate audience in his own and other lands.

No modern author is now better known than Carlyle, yet few are more imperfectly understood. In politics he has been claimed by both Conservatives and Liberals, though most assuredly he is of no political party. His speculative views and opinions have been characterised as of German growth; yet no author of the present age is a more independent thinker, or draws less from foreign sources. His phraseology and diction, in which he is certainly the most original of writers, have been charged with Germanism, affectation, defection from the orthodox standards of her Majesty's English, and one knows not what; though his style and mode of expression are, to him, perfectly natural and unaffected. It is a curious fact, not known to most of his critics, that his style is, in reality, a hereditary and family style. This singular circumstance was observed long ago by the Rev. Edward Irving, who, on visiting Mr. Carlyle's family, and conversing with his father, remarked to his son: "I have often wondered how you had acquired that peculiar

peculiar, original, and forcible manner of expressing your ideas; but I have now discovered you inherit it from your father." Indeed, we have a strong persuasion that some acquaintance with Mr. Carlyle's parentage, juvenile training, and early history, is necessary to rightly understanding and appreciating his intellectual character, mental biases, and peculiar opinions. To these we purpose briefly to draw the attention of our readers. This we do the more willingly as we regard Mr. Carlyle as a noble example of what may be achieved by energy, perseverance, and talents rightly directed, in spite of the disadvantage of early position; exhibiting, at the same time, the importance of a virtuous example and education to youth. Every man, it is true, cannot be a Carlyle; but every man has talents of some description, which might be made available to society, and to the advancement in life of the individual possessor; and it will be his own fault and loss if they are not turned to right account.

Thomas Carlyle was born at Ecclefechan (*i. e.*, the Church of St. Fechan), in Dumfries-shire, in 1796. His family, it is said, can trace their descent from the rough old Border Barons, Lords of Torthorwald, of other days, who rejoiced, most of all, in a well-fought battle-field or border foray. His father, James Carlyle, was a creditable Annandale farmer, in comfortable rather than affluent circumstances, who owed his position in society to his own energy, judicious economy, and active exertion. Mentally considered, he was a very remarkable man, possessed of strong natural sense and very superior intelligence for his opportunities and station in society; and was much respected for his moral worth and inflexible honesty. He abounded in rich sarcastic wit; and the originality of his mind was strikingly apparent in the expression of his ideas, even in his ordinary style of conversation, which was unlike that of any other man's. Decision of character, firmness of purpose, and an unswerving love of truth and honesty characterised all his dealings and transactions in life. But while resolutely just and honest himself, and little disposed to palliate even his own faults, he had not much toleration for the faults and shortcomings of others. The sworn enemy he was of all scoundrelism, knavery, and rascality, whatever guise they might assume; a man who 'abhorred a liar as the gates of hell;' would have hurled a thunderbolt at the head of a traitor, and trampled a tyrant in the dust; a true 'village Hampden' he might be called, 'who never feared the face of man;' 'no fiercer enemy of unveracity—veritable as the old rocks—an unwedgable and gnarled block of manhood.' One might be almost tempted to believe that his eminent son had transferred the leading features of his father's character to his portrait of Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, so much similarity may be observed—no unassignable cause of Mr. Carlyle's marked

marked partiality for his hero. In intellectual power, however, the royal prototype falls considerably short; still more in qualities of heart. Of the two men, the Scottish yeoman, as it appears to us, was intrinsically much the nobler, and more kingly. Like Cincinnatus of old, he lived and laboured on his little farm with independent and honourable frugality, an example to his neighbourhood of every manly and Christian virtue; guiding his affairs with wisdom and prudence, and governing his family with parental kindness united to parental authority. A slight leaning he might sometimes indicate to the severer virtues, which are not the least needed in this foolish, frivolous, and losel world of ours. This worthy man gave to his country a numerous family, endowed with the same virtues and qualities which had enabled himself to accomplish the journey of life with a desirable measure of comfort and independence. On one son he bestowed an excellent medical education—Dr. John A. Carlyle—who is not only a skilful physician, but a man of high literary attainments, which is abundantly evinced in his translation of Dante. His eldest son, Thomas—a man of eminent learning and genius, and well known as a distinguished writer—is the author, among other productions, of the 'Life of Frederick the Great,' recently published—a work of which the value of the workmanship greatly exceeds that of the materials; and it may be left in doubt whether the author be not a man of higher mark than the hero he undertakes to celebrate. If the genius of Livy was 'equal to the majesty of the Roman empire,' the genius of Carlyle is assuredly not unequal to the majesty of Frederick II. of Prussia. Yet there are individuals still to be found who will confidently affirm that naturally, in mental capacity, Carlyle the son is inferior to Carlyle the father. He was an earnest Christian man withal, happy in his religion, and one who never entertained a doubt of its spiritual power and divine authority; a man who could accept of no apology for irreligion and immorality from any one, however eminent and high in rank, though ready to honour virtue in the meanest garb.

Mr. Carlyle's mother was also regarded as a very superior, sensible, and pious woman, altogether worthy of her excellent husband. Both were adherents of the dissenting Presbyterian Church founded by the Erskines, which was, at that period, perhaps the most rigid in discipline and strict in morals of any of the Calvinistic denominations, and still retained much of the stern old covenanting spirit. Under the watchful eye and careful religious training of such parents, young Carlyle passed his tender years. From them he received his first knowledge of right and wrong, his first notions of his 'being's use and end.' His earliest convictions in regard to all the relative and social duties of life were impressed upon his young susceptible mind by their precepts and

and example; and the impressions he then received have remained with him through life, legibly stamped on his character and writings. Whatever may be his own opinions on the evidences of Christianity, he has 'lived by the faith' of his venerated parents; the impress of their character left upon his mind has never been effaced. His highest wisdom, his noblest sentiments, his finest sense of honour, integrity, veracity, and every moral duty are, with him, all hereditary—the rich legacy left him by parental precept and example. Hence his wisdom is just the rare old Hebrew wisdom, issuing, as he might say, from the inmost heart of nature, shedding light and guidance on man's darkling path; though dressed up in a garb of philosophy, and embellished with flowers of rhetoric and flashes of oratory. His good father had not got quit of that old-fashioned notion that Solomon was, in reality, the wisest of men, with the exception of Him who 'spake as never man spake.' The Hebrew monarch was very much in the habit of looking into the 'inner facts of nature,' and of measuring men and their doings by 'the eternal laws of the universe,' or laws of the eternal Maker of the universe. In that old Hebrew wisdom, which we call 'the revealed will of God,' Mr. Carlyle was carefully instructed in his youthful years. He still acknowledges the precepts therein contained as the 'eternal laws of the universe,' the will and purpose of the divine Maker of the universe, divine laws, the violation of which must inflict on men and nations unspeakable misery and ruin, and in the keeping of which there is a great reward—guidance 'towards their true good in this life, the portal of infinite good in a life to come.' With a noble inspiration, caught from his father's faith and mother's piety, and the terrible earnestness and fervent spirit of an old Scottish Covenanter—the sword lying across the Bible—he follows in the steps of the royal Hebrew Preacher, who astonished the ancient world with his wisdom; or appropriates and enjoins apostolic precepts with the zeal and eloquence of the disciple of Gamaliel. 'Whatever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might,' says the Preacher. 'There where thou art, work, work,' says Carlyle; 'whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it,—with the hand of a man, not of a phantasm; be that thy unnoticed blessedness.' 'Do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God,' enjoins the prophet. 'Humbly and valiantly with God,' adds Carlyle; 'struggling to make the earth heavenly; instead of walking sumptuously and pridefully with Mammon, leaving the earth to grow hellish as it liked.' And so of other Christian duties: 'Labour not to be rich,' for that is mammon-worship;' 'The love of money is the root of all evil.' Carlyle approves of rigorous discipline and enforcement of duty. So it seems did Solomon: 'Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and deliver his soul from

from hell.' The apostle, too, expected every man to do his duty: 'He that will not work, neither shall he eat.'

Mr. Carlyle's partiality for heroes may, perhaps, also be traced to his early Bible training. What is the history of the Jewish people but a series of biographies of their great men or heroes, to whom the nation owed all its prosperity and greatness? And the hope of a still greater hero, a Messiah, has long bound them together as a distinct and united people.

But to return to Mr. Carlyle's youthful career. Having given early promise of superior ability, his parents resolved to give him the advantage of a liberal education, chiefly with the view of his entering the church. He was accordingly enrolled a pupil in Annan academy, which was then considered the best seminary in the district. At this school he continued a number of years, making remarkable progress in his studies. The ease and rapidity with which he mastered every subject to which his attention was directed astonished his teachers, and disheartened and perplexed his class-fellows. It is related that one clever, ambitious little fellow was often heard to say, in tears, 'I cannot learn with that Thomas Carlyle; things just stick to him.' When considered sufficiently advanced to enter the college classes, he was sent to the University of Edinburgh. Here he found a wider range for the exercise of his talents, competitors of a higher class, and a more extensive field for establishing his claims to superiority. As a student, he soon occupied a distinguished position; and though seldom or never seen at his books, in his classes he showed always a thorough acquaintance with the subjects of his studies. Among the professors whose prelections he attended was the eminent philosopher, Sir John Leslie, who could not fail soon to notice a student of such remarkable promise as young Carlyle. He accordingly obtained the cordial friendship and esteem of that professor, who, in his edition of Euclid's Elements, makes honourable mention of Mr. Carlyle as his 'ingenious young friend.' The chair of Moral Philosophy was at that time filled by Dr. Thomas Brown, whose lectures he also attended, and from which he must have received considerable benefit; but for Dr. Brown, as a metaphysician, we believe he entertains little respect. His estimate of Dr. Ritchie, Professor of Logic, is still lower: 'a man who "rayed out darkness" to the students for a quarter of a century.' Though few students have passed through their college curriculum with more *éclat*, or have carried with them a larger amount of the knowledge there attainable, than Mr. Carlyle, he is, nevertheless, known to entertain no very high idea of the excellence of the present system of teaching in our universities.

After passing through the usual course of literary studies, Mr. Carlyle entered the Divinity Hall, and for some time attended

attended lectures on theology. Here he delivered, at least, one discourse in presence of the professor and students; which, from the boldness of the views advanced, the originality and ability it displayed, at once startled and delighted his audience. The old professor, however, adhering resolutely to the maxim, that in theology 'new things are not true things,' got alarmed for the faith and doctrine of the church, as if he had caught some dim perception of a young incipient heresiarch of no common grasp. Perhaps no single discourse had so much discomposed the solemn monotony of that venerable place since the time when Will Nicol, the 'inkneed genius' and friend of Burns (also a wild Borderer) poured forth a torrent of Billingsgate, in elegant classical Latinity, to the dismay of the professor and amazement of the students. Mr. Carlyle's views, in regard to a profession, having, however, undergone a change, he applied himself for some time to the study of law, which, not being altogether to his taste, he afterwards relinquished.

Among the most distinguished of Mr. Carlyle's fellow-students was the Rev. Edward Irving. They were from the same locality, were acquainted at an early period of life; and from the similarity of their pursuits, and their mutual admiration of each other's talents, they became warmly attached and inseparable friends. Much of their time was spent together, while devoting themselves, with all the ardour of youthful enthusiasm, to literary and scientific studies. Mr. Irving, during the course of his attendance at the Divinity Hall, had accepted of the mastership of the grammar-school of Kirkaldy, the birthplace of Adam Smith, and where he wrote his great work on political economy. Here Mr. Irving induced his young friend, Mr. Carlyle, to join him, as one of the masters of the institution over which he presided. Accordingly the two young Titans entered upon the discharge of their duties with no lack of zeal and ability, and laboured together for a length of time as instructors of the youth of that corner of the kingdom of Fife. What distinguished man of genius has not been engaged, at some period of his career, in the same honourable vocation, not exempting John Milton in his 'garden-house,' and Samuel Johnson, who 'set up a school and called it an academy?' The good people of Kirkaldy still point out the old building—a low, dingy little den, now superseded by a more suitable edifice—where these two youthful sons of genius wrought at their daily task, on such raw intellectual material as the locality produced. Earnest true men, such as they, labouring to realise an important result, could not trifle with men or boys; the cane, consequently, fell often and heavily on defaulters. Maternal instincts were aroused, and the doating, fond, weak mothers got considerably alarmed for their beloved offspring. Indeed, it is said, not altogether

altogether without reason, that the little, dingy, intellectual workshop of the two zealous instructors of youth, did sometimes admit the application of the classical description given by Virgil of the Rhadamanthine house of correction:

> 'Hinc exaudiri gemitus et sæva sonare
> Verbera.'
>
> 'Hence wailings are heard and cruel lashings resound.'

For a time the school became almost deserted, the men and their mission were so ill understood. It is told that on one occasion a stalwart wright, discomposed by the proximity of the appalling din, entered with an axe on his shoulder—in the fashion of Vulcan when called to lay open the brain of Jupiter on the birth of Minerva—and offered his services to Mr. Irving, to cut off, at once and for ever, the noise and mischief with the head of the delinquent, and so save his castigator a world of trouble besides expense in canes. But in an educational institution, conducted by two such original men of genius, original traits and modes of procedure were to be expected.

Of Carlyle few reminiscences remain in this early scene of his labours. He must, we presume, have been distant and taciturn; and no one could then conjecture that he carried about with him, under the guise of a Scottish schoolmaster, a mission to the nations in general, to be uttered on the world-theatre, in the audience of men present and future. There, however, Irving pledged the young affections of his great, warm heart to a Kirkaldy-born damsel, who became the mother of his children; and at last mourned for the fallen giant and departed Christian, as his widow, the wife of his youth.

It affords a pleasing interest to reflect on the early companionship and conjoint labours of two such men of might as Irving and Carlyle; and one can well conceive the high enjoyment which two congenial minds like theirs, in all the warmth and buoyancy of youth, would find in each other's society. It must indeed have been a matter of no common interest to listen to their long conversations and discussions, ranging over all manner of subjects—Irving pouring forth a torrent of brilliant eloquence in support of his own views; and Carlyle, with ready and dexterous tongue-fence, upsetting his arguments, and plying him with his long thunder-sentences and keen satirical wit. We have heard a gentleman complain bitterly, who once spent an evening with the two friends in Kirkaldy, that they seemed entirely to forget that he was present in the same room with them, so completely did they get absorbed in their conversation; subject, foreign literature—Kant, Schiller, Goethe, Dante, or some others that he had forgotten. Indeed, one can easily believe, that when Irving and Carlyle were engaged in earnest conversation, they would have few unoccupied thoughts

to

to bestow on any third party, in whatever proximity he might be placed to them. Carlyle soon made his escape from this field of labour; Irving not so soon: but their mutual esteem and friendship never suffered a diminution. And it does no small honour to Carlyle's goodness of heart, that, with a constancy of friendship and warmth of affections which belong to minds of a higher order, he retained for Mr. Irving, amid all the contumely and derision of the world, his kindness and esteem to the last. And when 'the strong man over-wearied as at night-fall, when it was yet but mid-season of day,' had sunk to his long repose, and the barriers of the tomb were shut alike to the offices of friendship and shafts of malignity, Carlyle forgot not their early attachment, but shortly after Mr. Irving's death, honoured his memory with one of the finest tributes that genius ever offered on the shrine of friendship.

Mr. Carlyle's father had done his part well and faithfully to his son, as he did to all mankind, according to his judgment and ability. He had a large family of sons and daughters; and he had no notion that any child of his should be idly dandled and supported when well able to walk alone. Then young men are all the better of learning betimes to stand on their own feet, and fight their own battle, that the manhood which is in them may get itself well developed, and attain the due dimensions of a hardy and vigorous growth. Thomas, we may well suppose, from the time of his leaving college, would be left very much to his own self-sustaining exertions. But a young man, with his high scholarship and talents, could not fail, if he chose to work, to command sufficient resources for his ordinary wants. With him the motto, which he early adopted and has always acted upon, was *Laborare est orare*—work is worship. He accordingly engaged for some time in teaching mathematics, and employed his leisure hours with his pen, in translating works from the French and German. He had also, about this time, under training as tutor, a young gentleman of large fortune, for whom parliamentary honours were anticipated. But we have never heard that he attained to any distinction as a politician. He seems to have chosen the 'second glorious part,' recommended by Mr. Carlyle, of keeping 'excellent silence;' and if posterity hear of him at all, it is likely to be in connexion with his eminent tutor.

While thus pursuing with light and buoyant step a useful, independent, and honourable career, Mr. Carlyle had the happiness to gain the hand and affections of a young lady of good family and fortune—a Scottish heiress, possessed of high mental accomplishments and personal attractions. With the quick discrimination of character which females of mind are allowed to possess, she saw in the young scholar, with nothing but his pen and mental attainments,

ments, something far higher and worthier than the mere holder of any breadth of lands, or amount of bank-shares could claim. Excellent lady! we esteem and honour her for her noble preference. She accordingly made him a Scottish laird; and he, in return, made her the companion for life, and sharer of the interests and hopes, the trials and triumphs of one of the most distinguished men of her age.

Mr. Carlyle having, by his 'Life of Schiller' and other writings, established his claim to a recognised status in the literary world, now devoted himself entirely to literature as a profession. He wrote for the 'Edinburgh Encyclopædia,' then in progress; became a contributor to the 'London Magazine,' the 'Foreign Quarterly Review,' 'Fraser's Magazine,' and the 'Edinburgh Review,' in which periodicals appeared that series of able and brilliant essays on English and German literature which were afterwards published in five volumes. As a German scholar and critic, Mr. Carlyle stands in the first rank among English writers. The influence of his works has greatly contributed to create a taste for the study of German literature in this country.

His 'History of the French Revolution,' one of the most remarkable productions of the present age, appeared in 1837; a work abounding in literary excellences of the highest merit. In graphic power of delineation, vivid descriptions, life-like portraits, originality of thought, and vigour of diction, it is admitted to hold the first place in modern literature. Afterwards appeared his 'Heroes and Hero-worship,' which, to the ordinary reader, is perhaps the most interesting production that has proceeded from his pen. Here you have him at home, in congenial society—the master-spirits of every age—yielding his whole soul to the inspiration of their thoughts and actions, and reflecting in the mirror of his own mind what he finds in them great, heroic, and ennobling. Next succeeded 'Sartor Resartus,' 'Past and Present,' 'Chartism,' 'Letters and Speeches of Cromwell,' 'Latter-day Pamphlets,' 'Life of John Sterling.' Though these works are not all of equal merit and value, and not wholly free from faults, more or less objectionable, yet they are all characterised by the original genius and peculiar excellences of the author, and abound in passages of great power and brilliancy. It would perhaps be difficult to point out anything of the same kind equal to his description of the battle of Dunbar since the age of Homer.

On Mr. Carlyle's first appearance in the lists of authorship, he was recognised, by the discerning few, as a man of remarkable power and originality; but his celebrity as a writer, for a time, progressed slowly, though surely. The novelty of his phraseology and peculiarity of his manner gave, in the opinion of some, an additional charm to his composition; by others, these qualities were

were repudiated as affectation and an innovating upon the established rules and conventionalities of critics and authors of acknowledged authority. However, as his object was not to write smooth sentences and nicely-rounded periods, but to communicate ideas, to convey his meaning to the reader in the most expressive and forcible diction he could make available, he held on his way, undisturbed by criticism, which at last fell silent on the subject. It was soon discovered that no author possesses a more unlimited command over the rich resources of the English tongue, or can wield them with more power and effect. Then the fire and brilliancy of his imagination; his jocose playfulness of humour, even in the gravest subjects; his power of illustrating ordinary topics in new and unexpected lights, take the reader by surprise, enchain his attention, amuse his imagination, and never suffer his interest to flag. His satire is keen, trenchant, and terrible; when he castigates, it is with the club of a Hercules; when in humour to praise, he dips his pen in the colours of the rainbow, and arrays his hero in a garb of celestial radiance, wholly indifferent to the possible suspicion of poetic exaggeration.

The influence of Mr. Carlyle's writings on public opinion and the literature of the country has been much greater than is generally understood; not much at all directly, but by its bearing on the minds of those who think and write for the masses, especially the conductors of the public press. The interest which has of late years been called forth among the higher ranks, in the social amelioration of the labouring classes, we have no hesitation in ascribing chiefly to the influence of his writings.

His sympathy with the industrious and productive classes is warm and sincere. Their horny hands and sweat-run brows he regards with not less respect than the wounds and scars of a brave soldier who has stood in many a well-fought field; and that, when faithful to their charge, they stand ennobled by the nobility of labour.

Mr. Carlyle is an earnestly religious man after his own fashion; a worshipper especially in the great temple of nature—'not with fear, but reverence'—reads there 'the laws of God, transcendent, everlasting, imperatively demanding obedience from all men; written on the azure of infinitude, in the inner heart of God's creation; certain as life, certain as death!' He would say, with the Psalmist, 'The heavens declare the glory of God'—'There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard.' He would say, with the Apostle, 'In Him we live and move and have our being.' The Saviour of the world he denominates 'the most godlike man that ever walked the earth, and still a God.' Christ the Messiah, he considers, at all rates, as the most godlike of heroes, and claiming a godlike worship. And the man who recognises

recognises the written laws of God as 'the eternal laws of the universe,' as proceeding from the Creator of the universe, and who inculcates all the Christian virtues, cannot be called an *un*-christian man; nay, one would rather say that he has made very hopeful advances towards a valuable and practical kind of Christianity. No one, however, knows better than Mr. Carlyle, that the great unthinking mass of men, who can look with 'brute unconscious gaze' on all the glories of nature, will never be able to read God's laws 'on the azure of infinitude, and inner heart of creation.' For their safe and sure guidance, there must be a 'revealed will of God,' a written creed and form of worship. And as appears to us, there is no hope of making the world better, but through the influence of Christianity bearing upon the minds and morals of men; and whatever weakens the obligations of religion, goes to dissolve the bonds of society, and promote the reign of anarchy and social chaos. The world will always be impious and godless enough of its own accord, without a measure of toleration granted. It was said long ago, by an old Roman, 'What will not that man do in the dark who fears only a witness and a judge?'—who fears no invisible pen recording his actions, no future bar of judgment, at which his present conduct must be tried? But besides the restraints which religion imposes upon vice and immorality, and the social duties which it enjoins, there is a 'joy in believing' the message it conveys, in which the greatest and wisest minds of the human family have rejoiced with confidence and hope. From an orthodox point of view, Mr. Carlyle appears a great, fiery, stormy giant, blazing with meteoric splendour, and purblind by the flashes of his own eloquence, groping about at the foot of Mount Sinai for the broken fragments of the tables of the law; and in their dilapidated and fragmentary state, reading them as he best can, and with loud emphasis calling on heaven and earth to witness, that these are God's divine laws—'the eternal laws of the universe'—'whose body nature is, and God the soul'—that 'the soul of the universe is just'—and 'in the centre of the world-whirlwind, verily now, as in the oldest days, dwells and speaks a God.'

When Mr. Carlyle pours forth a torrent of blighting and withering eloquence against the prevailing vices of the age—'mammon-worship, scoundrelism, shams, simulacra, and all manner of lies,' in nowise sparing lordly and royal sinners, and professed spiritual teachers unspiritual in their mode of teaching and manner of life, his readers can listen to him with satisfaction and participate in his virtuous indignation. Also few can be blind to the deadening effects of meaningless forms and empty rituals, and the imperative importance of earnest spiritual teaching; but when, in his indignant scorn of all forms and formularies, 'articles and creeds,'

credos,' he lays about him 'like desperate Bentley with his slashing hook,' one is forcibly reminded of the farmer, who, in order to destroy the rats which infested his barn, fell upon the plan of setting fire to the building; a plan which succeeded to admiration, in as far as concerned the rats, but he discovered too late he had also destroyed the grain on which himself and family subsisted. There is some reason for apprehension that Mr. Carlyle may burn up the wheat along with the chaff, and so leave no form of spiritual food on which men can find nourishment.

The first two volumes of Mr. Carlyle's long-expected work on the life of Frederick the Great of Prussia have at last been issued, and eagerly received by the reading public. The work exhibits all the characteristics of his former writings; the peculiarities of his forcible and original style; his graphic power of resuscitating into vivid actuality, personages and events long neglected or forgotten; an increasing flow of wit and humour investing with interest the humblest characters and most unpromising subjects. At the touch of his magic pen, the ancient knights, burggrafs, markgraves, and kaisers, start into life, in their steel harness and buff jerkins, and speak and act again their parts on the world's stage, with their human sympathies, passions, and ambitions. The work is, indeed, a great historical epic, a kind of narrative prose poem, more interesting than any Waverley Novel, and as much more profitable as truth is preferable to fiction. Much practical wisdom and many sage reflections you meet with in the author's teachings from examples of the past; or he laughs with you at human follies—a terrible grim laugh—especially at the foolish vices of lordly and royal delinquents; or he enlists your feelings and sympathies for the woes of suffering humanity. The amount of historical information given in the work, in regard to the condition and progress of the peoples of Germany, is remarkable, considering the length of time over which the narrative extends; reaching as far back as the commencement of the Christian era, or when authentic history begins. The author has given, with considerable fulness of detail, the formation of the different German electorates, the histories of the houses of Hapsburg and Hohenzollern, and the progress of Prussia, from small beginnings to the magnitude of a kingdom. We can only find room for the following extract:—

HISTORICAL MEANING OF THE REFORMATION.

'The Reformation was the great event of that sixteenth century; according as a man did something in that, or did nothing and obstructed doing, has he much claim to memory, or no claim, in this age of ours. The more it becomes apparent that the Reformation was the event then transacting itself, was the thing that Germany and Europe either did or refused to do, the more does the historical significance of men attach itself to the phases of that transaction. Accordingly we notice henceforth that the memorable points of Brandenburg history, what of it sticks naturally to the memory of a reader or student, connect themselves of their

own accord, almost all, with the history of the Reformation. That has proved to be the law of nature in regard to them, softly establishing itself; and it is ours to follow that law. Brandenburg, not at first unanimously, by no means too inconsiderately, but with overwhelming unanimity when the matter became clear, was lucky enough to adopt the Reformation; and stands by it ever since in its ever-widening scope, amid such difficulties as there might be. Brandenburg had felt somehow that it could do no other. And ever onwards through the times even of our little Fritz and farther, if we will understand the word "Reformation," Brandenburg so feels; being at this day, to an honourable degree, incapable of believing incredibilities, of adopting solemn shams, or pretending to live on spiritual moonshine. Which has been of unaccountable advantage to Brandenburg; how could it fail? This was what we must call obeying the audible voice of heaven. To which same "voice," at that time, all that did not give ear—what has become of them since; have they not signally had the penalties to pay? "Penalties:" quarrel not with the old phraseology, good reader; attend rather to the thing it means. The word was heard of old, with a right solemn meaning attached to it, from theological pulpits and such places; and may still be heard there with a half-meaning, or with no meaning, though it has rather become obsolete to modern ears. But the thing should not have fallen obsolete, the thing is a grand and solemn truth, expressive of a silent law of heaven, which continues for ever valid. The most untheological of men may still assert the thing; and invite all men to notice it, as a silent monition and prophecy in this universe; to take it, with more of awe than they are wont, as a correct reading of the will of the Eternal in respect of such matters; and in their modern sphere, to bear the same well in mind. For it is perfectly certain, and may be seen with eyes in any quarter of Europe at this day. Protestant or not Protestant? The question meant everywhere "Is there anything of nobleness in you, O nation, or is there nothing? Are there, in this nation, enough of heroic men to venture forward, and to battle for God's truth *versus* the devil's falsehood, at the peril of life and more? Men who prefer death, and all else, to living under falsehood—who, once for all, will not live under falsehood; but having drawn the sword against it (the time being come for that rare and important step), throw away the scabbard, and can say, in pious clearness, with their whole soul: 'Come on, then! Life under falsehood is not good for me; and we will try it out now. Let it be to the death between us, then!' Once risen into this divine white-heat of temper, were it only for a season, and not again, the nation is thenceforth considerable through all its remaining history. What immensities of dross and crypto-poisonous matter will it not burn out of itself in that high temperature in the course of a few years! Witness Cromwell and his Puritans—making England habitable even under the Charles-Second terms for a couple of centuries more. Nations are benefited, I believe, for ages, by being thrown once into divine white-heat in this manner. And no nation that has not had such divine paroxysms at any time is apt to come to much. That was now, in this epoch, the English of "adopting Protestantism;" and we need not wonder at the results which it has had, and which the want of it has had. For the want of it is literally the want of loyalty to the Maker of this universe. He who wants that, what else has he, or can he have? If you do not, you man or you nation, love the truth enough, but try to make a chapman-bargain with truth, instead of giving yourself wholly, soul and body and life to her, truth will not live with you, truth will depart from you; and only logic, 'wit' (for example, London wit), sophistry, virtue, the æsthethic arts, and perhaps (for a short while) book-keeping by double entry, will abide with you. You will follow falsity, and think it truth, you unfortunate man or nation. You will right surely, you for one, stumble to the devil; and are every day and hour, little as you imagine it, making progress thither. Austria, Spain, Italy, France, Poland—the offer of the Reformation was made everywhere; and it is curious to see what has become of the nations that would not hear it. In all countries were some that accepted; but in many there were not enough, and the rest, slowly or swiftly, with fatal, difficult industry, contrived to burn them out. Austria was once full of Protestants; but the hide-bound Flemish-Spanish Kaiser element presiding over it obstinately for two centuries, kept saying, "No; we, with our dull, obstinate Cimbyrgis under-lip and lazy eyes, with our ponderous Austrian depth of habituality and indolence of intellect, we prefer steady darkness to uncertain

uncertain new light!"—and all men may see where Austria now is. Spain still more; poor Spain going about, at this time, making its "*pronunciamentos;*" all the factious attorneys in its little towns assembling to *pronounce* virtually this, "The Old *is* a lie, then;—good heavens, after we so long tried hard, harder than any nation, to think it a truth!—and if it be not rights of man, Red Republic, and progress of the species, we know not now what to believe or to do; and are as a people stumbling on steep places in the darkness of midnight!" They refused truth when she came; and now truth knows nothing of them. All stars and heavenly lights have become veiled to such men; they must now follow terrestrial *ignes fatui*, and think them stars. That is the doom passed upon them. Italy, too, had its Protestants; but Italy killed them—managed to extinguish Protestantism. Italy put up silently with practical lies of all kinds, and, shrugging its shoulders, preferred going into dilettantism and the fine arts. The Italians, instead of the sacred service of fact and performance, did music, painting, and the like; till even that has become impossible for them; and no noble nation, sunk from virtue to *virtù*, ever offered such a spectacle before. He that will prefer dilettantism in this world for his outfit, shall have it; but all the gods will depart from him; and manful veracity, earnestness of purpose, devout depth of soul, shall no more be his. He can, if he like, make himself a soprano, and sing for hire;—and probably that is the real goal for him. But the sharpest-cut example is France; to which we constantly return for illustration. France, with its keen intellect, saw the truth and saw the falsity in those Protestant times; and, with its ardour of generous impulse, was prone enough to adopt the former. France was within a hair's-breadth of becoming actually Protestant. But France saw good to massacre Protestantism, and end it in the night of St. Bartholomew, 1572. The celestial Apparitor of Heaven's Chancery, so we may speak, the Genius of Fact and Veracity, had left his writ of summons; Writ was read;—and replied to in this manner. The Genius of Fact and Veracity accordingly withdrew; was staved-off, got kept away, for two hundred years. But the Writ of Summons had been served; Heaven's Messenger could not stay away for ever. No; he returned duly; with accounts run up, on compound interest, to the actual hour, in 1792;—and then, at last, there had to be a "Protestantism;" and we know of what kind that was! Nations did not so understand it, nor did Brandenburg more than the others; but the question of questions for them at that time, decisive of their history for half a thousand years to come, was, Will you obey the heavenly voice, or will you not?'

ART. IV.—1. *Publications of the Cotton Supply Association:—The Cotton Supply Reporter* (August to December, 1858). *The Cultivation of the Orleans Staple Cotton*, &c., 2nd Edition. *Lord Stanley's Speech*, 1857, &c.

2. *How are Increased Supplies of Cotton to be obtained?* By J. B. Smith, Esq., M.P. 1857.

3. *Cotton, its Cultivation, Manufacture, and Uses.* By H. Ashworth. 1858.

4. *Letters from the Slave States.* By James Sterling.

5. *The London Cotton Plant.*

6. *How to Abolish Slavery in America*, &c. By a Slave-driver. 1858.

7. *The British Quarterly Review—The Cotton Dearth.* Oct. 1857.

8. *The Encyclopædia Britannica—Cotton.*

INDIA, from time immemorial, has been famed for its cotton. There the plant is indigenous, and the climate invites its cool

clothing. The name *calico** reminds us of the country where it was manufactured in every village. There muslins were wrought of such exquisite texture as to appear to the common eye as gossamer, and to the poet as 'webs of woven wind.' The perfect fabric was a strange contrast to the rude implements with which it was made. The hands of the artisan were wonderfully dextrous, as were his father's before him; but his mind was inert, and his condition was unimproved. Whilst in India the cotton manufacture was marked by no progress, in England it has called forth unprecedented enterprise and invention, and has peacefully produced a social revolution. It has filled the dreariest districts with life and intelligence. Our native iron and coal are exhumed that we may dress this softest and fairest of strangers, which fills our ports with merchandise.

Lewis Roberts, in his 'Treasure of Traffic' (1641), tells us that the people of Manchester manufactured and exported the cotton which London merchants brought from Smyrna and Cyprus. The weaver bought linen yarn from Ireland; the cotton wool for the weft was carded and spun by the female part of his family, and the cloth was wove by himself and his sons.† The inventions of Hargreaves, Arkwright, and others in the middle of the last century, followed by that of the steam-engine, produced a wonderful change. In 1750 the inhabitants of Lancashire numbered 297,400; in 1851, 2,031,236; and whilst they have increased sevenfold it has not been at the expense of the rest of England: the population, which it had taken thousands of years, since England was first colonised, to reach, has been doubled in the last half century.

We must refer to Mr. Ashworth's pamphlet for an interesting summary of the growth and present importance of our cotton manufactures. Suffice it to say, that whilst only one to two million pounds of raw cotton were annually consumed previous to 1764, 920,000,000 lbs. were consumed in 1856. In that year the value of cotton manufactured was 61,484,000*l.*, of which goods amounting to 38,284,000*l.* were exported to about seventy countries. If we deduct the cost of the raw material, 37,426,000*l.* was left to circulate among our industrious classes. The cheapness‡ of the fabrics they have helped to produce removes one of the social barriers. Our artisans know that the wealthiest millowners have sprung, and may yet spring, from their ranks. They have obtained an increasing regard from the organs of the public, and a more potent voice in the legislature. Parliament has inter-

* From Calicut, a port of Malabar. † 'Encyclopædia Britannica.'

‡ A wedding-dress of calico, known to have been purchased near the end of the last century at 6*s.* per yard, in 1856 would cost 2½*d.*; and a square yard of cotton lace has been reduced from 5*l.* to 6*d.*—Ashworth, pp. 17, 23.

fered

fered to protect them from the abuses of the truck system, to limit their hours of labour, and to give the humblest factory child the rudiments of a good education. There is a growing feeling that the interests of the employer and his workpeople are best promoted by mutual consideration; and that all which is done to raise the moral, intellectual, and social condition of the operatives must tend to the good of the community. Labour is respected; and those whom we delight to honour tell us truly that they, too, belong to the *working* classes.

As long as this spirit of improvement continues we may hope that the rapid rise of our cotton manufacture will be followed by no permanent decline; but the last two years have excited fears which have never, indeed, been entirely dormant. Can we go on building mills and increasing machinery at our present rate? Shall we get cotton enough to spin, and customers enough to buy our fabrics?

Other countries are now applying themselves to this manufacture. 'Fifteen years ago our machinery consumed two-thirds of the cotton raised, and now it is only half.'* But there are multitudes in distant lands who only wait the opportunity to become our customers, and our home market might be, and ought to be, doubled. Some of the most important manufactures of this country have grown up side by side with that of cotton, and they thrive by each other's success; but we need scarcely remind our readers that there is *one* manufacture which neutralises the benefits which would result from the rest: it diminishes industry, hinders education, and debases our operatives. Our people spend more than twice as much on intoxicating liquor as on cotton goods,† whilst a much smaller amount goes into the hands of the workman who makes it. Those who prefer its treacherous heat to clothing, instead of buying new garments, pawn those which they ought not to spare.

The supply of cotton wool is a matter of the first importance. In vain should we have a demand for goods if we had not the raw material. The reduction in its price has vastly increased its consumption; and when the price rises it causes a loss to the maker or purchaser. In 1844 and 1845 cotton was about 4*d.* a pound; in 1846 and 1847 it rose to about 7*d.* and 9*d.* It became apparent that a cotton famine would be followed by disastrous consequences. In 1848 Mr. Bright moved for a Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the growth of cotton in India; and since that time thoughtful persons have given the subject constant attention, though in the years in which cotton was low it was treated

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* Ashworth, p. 25.

† The cotton goods retained for home use in 1856 were valued at 23,200,000*l.*

with

with indifference by the majority of manufacturers. They have built mills and furnished them with machinery, but have cared neither to take trouble nor embark capital to secure the supplies, without which they would be useless. The comparative scarcity* of the last two years has awakened their alarm. A Cotton Supply Association has been formed, the expenditure of which last year was 4,124*l.* (2,620*l.* for cotton seed); and large subscriptions, some of which amount to 100*l.* a year, have been pledged for five years. The rooms of the association are in Newall's-buildings, Manchester, where the visitor may see specimens of cotton from every region of its growth, the gins which are most approved for clearing it from the seed, the cotton cloth which is used as money in Africa, &c. The 'Cotton Supply Reporter,' published once a fortnight, is the organ of the association, and contains, with other interesting matter, the replies sent to the inquiries which were forwarded through the Foreign-office to her Majesty's consuls in all parts of the world where the cotton plant might be reasonably expected to grow. Among the subscribers of large sums to this association we find Dr. Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, and others who have no pecuniary interest in its success; but they know that it may be the means of procuring the freedom and promoting the civilisation of millions of our fellow creatures; and it is chiefly on this account that we bring the subject before the readers of 'Meliora.'

We are now dependent on the United States for cotton: their market rules the price. Two hundred years ago our imports were from the Levant. Till near the close of the last century the material for the coarser fabrics was procured chiefly from the West Indies. Old men remember when none came from North America. In 1784, the year after the peace with England, eight bales were consigned to the late Mr. W. Rathbone, of Liverpool (father of the philanthropic merchant who now bears the name). The custom-house officers seized this cotton, on the plea that the Shipping Act was violated, since it could not have been grown in the States! When it was released it lay for many months unsold, as the spinners doubted whether it could be profitably worked.† In 1795 an immense stimulus was given to its cultivation in America. Mr. Eli Whitney, of Massachusetts, invented the cotton-gin, by which the operation of cleaning the wool from the seed was easily and successfully accomplished. In 1806 Liverpool received from the United States 125,000 bales, 47 per cent. of all imported there. The per-centage of American cotton rose, in 1846, to 88; in 1856 the proportion lessened; but we then received 1,758,000

* Last 'March there was at one time only sufficient cotton in Liverpool for thirty days' consumption.'—Report of the Cotton Supply Association, p. 3.

† 'Encyclopædia Britannica.'

bales,

bales, or 71 per cent., of our whole consumption.* It is unwise to rely so much on one field, however large, as it may be subject to many casualties. It is impolitic to allow Lancashire to be dependent on a foreign country: it will prove to be unjust, when we bear in mind that we are thus helping to keep two million slaves in bondage.

Some are only too ready to tell us that England has no business with American slavery; but Southerners remind the traveller that England has so much business with it, that he has no business to denounce it! 'Why blame us,' they say, 'for the system which your ancestors planted, and which you support? Your Government vetoed the laws which some of our States made against slavery, and more recently against the slave-trade.† Your emigrants are they who turn the scale at elections in favour of pro-slavery candidates; and, above all, by giving us almost a monopoly of your cotton supply, you have made slavery most lucrative to us, and essential to your own prosperity.' We do not suppose that the profits on slavery are its only charm. Southern slaveholders are not so calculating as New-England traders. They cling to that which feeds their political ambition, as well as their lust for arbitrary power, and too frequently their more licentious lusts. Yet when slavery clearly entails a loss, it cannot long exist whilst freedom is flourishing in its immediate neighbourhood. In the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, the northern States, one after another, manumitted their slaves; and the revolutionary leaders, who set a term to the foreign slave-trade, hoped that slavery would not survive it long. Few can doubt that the demand for American cotton indefinitely postponed the hour of freedom. During the last three years the profits of the planter, from the increase in price, have been excessive. Since the foreign slave-trade is prohibited, the supply of slaves is limited, and their value rises proportionally. This might seem a security for their good treatment; but when masters are grasping, they will be tempted to overwork those for whose labour they pay so dearly. The great evil, however, is this: it is, in every way, more difficult for the slave to procure his freedom. It is, of course, three times harder for him to purchase it, now that his price is often 300*l.* than when it was 100*l.* The price is raised, not only of the two million slaves in the cotton States, but of the million and a half further north, who are driven in great numbers to the southern market, with brutal disregard to all domestic ties.‡ Those who

* 'British Quarterly,' pp. 437, 438.

† *Vide* The original draught of the Declaration of Independence, &c.

‡ When we were visiting the southern States, we travelled in the same steamer with a large drove of slaves, and saw—what no one who is acquainted with America will deny.

wish

wish to purchase or hire slaves have an obvious interest in keeping their number as great as possible. The laws to hinder emancipation are more rigorous than ever. The free negroes are made the subjects of a relentless persecution; even in the free States the Supreme Courts pronounce that they have no legal rights. Slaveholders, who used to apologise for their system, now extol it: many openly agitate for the enslavement of those free negroes who refuse to leave their native State, and for the reopening of the slave-trade. 'It is absurd,' they say, 'that our laws should declare it piracy, punishable with death, to transport heathen slaves across the sea, whilst we are constantly selling our Christian servants from State to State. Why should that which is all right by land be felony by water?'* They impudently assert that, since the stability of England depends on the supply of cotton, we cannot interfere with what may be needed for that purpose. We appear, then, in this position: we do not merely avail ourselves of slave labour, but, by giving something like a monopoly to it, we rivet the bonds of the slave; we enrich those who keep him a slave; we tempt them to kidnap more slaves.

When Lord Mansfield declared slavery too odious to exist in England, he merely invested public opinion with the mantle of the law; but there were in his time—there are now—some who wish to weaken our instinctive abhorrence. It is mournful to see how soon many of our emigrants and travellers become infected with the southern baseness; and the cowardly silence or special pleading of those whose commercial interests unite them to slavery warns all who would keep their native nobleness to make no compact with oppressors. 'The London Cotton Plant' is apparently supported by Southerners, with the intention of inducing good-will towards slavery. The following extract may show our readers what credit they may give to its statements:—

'We have lived on both sides the Atlantic, and among the southern people of the United States, and have had a much better opportunity' [than Mrs. (!) Sutherland or Mrs. Stowe] 'of judging which is the greatest or most positive slavery of the two countries. We have come deliberately to the conclusion that the "native-born peasant," the servant (!) of the southern States, is by far happier, better off, and less degraded than his "white brothers or sisters" of England.'—*The Cotton Plant*, p. 218.

It is *our* deliberate conclusion, that it would be only just that such writers, who are slaves in soul, should be elevated to the condition which they extol; and we cordially agree that he who is enslaved by force is 'less degraded' than his 'white brothers' who come to England to praise his chains. All that we have said of the improvement in the condition of the English cotton operative is reversed in the case of the slave. The 'chattel' has no

* Compare 'The Cotton Plant,' p. 219.

hope

hope of rising to the condition of a master—or even of a man. The more skill he displays, the harder is his yoke. His master (who may be also his father) boasts of his own freedom and enlightenment, but makes it a crime for any one to help him either to education or to freedom. He is called a Christian, but marriage is not legalized. Of course there are kind and good-natured planters; but if we are to judge of a 'peculiar institution' by the crimes which it justifies, and the just actions which it criminates, we may say that no civilised—certainly no Christian—country sanctions so abominable a peculiarity.

Now, since the slave is robbed of the labour which gives the chief value to the raw cotton we procure, if we benefit by the robbery, we are partners in it; if we do not benefit, yet promote it, we are still partners, though we lose our share of the spoil; and we have to remember, that it is not of his labour alone that the slave is robbed, but that, to rob him in more security, he is also robbed of all the rights of humanity. The difference between the slaveholder and the thief is, that the thief robs a man of *something* that he has, the slaveholder robs him of *all* that he has—if possible, of all that he *is*. Another difference, not in this country, but in America, is, that the robber of dry goods breaks the laws, but the robber of negroes makes the laws.

When we abolished the slave-trade we did all that we could to induce other nations to follow our example. Indeed, it was for the interest of our planters, who had maintained that iniquity, that their rivals should get compulsory labour on no cheaper terms than themselves. Our armed squadron, maintained at great expense, has been a testimony of our sincerity; but the slave-trade is sure to continue whilst slavery is profitable. To have been consistent, when we refused to avail ourselves any longer of the services of slaves in our own islands, we ought to have decreed that no stolen goods should enter our ports. It may be said that the experiment was tried and failed: there were differential duties to protect our colonial produce, against which the common sense of the nation rebelled. And why?—because they seemed designed to increase the profits, not of the emancipated slaves, but of their former owners, whom we had already paid off. A differential duty is a compromise; it permits the slaveholder to trade with us, if he will pay a heavy fine for his license. But what just government would sell a man a license to trade in stolen goods? And if they are not stolen, why not let him trade on equal terms? 'Protection to native industry' has come to imply a premium on native incapacity; but there is a protection which every one has a right to demand—against fraud and violence. Our objection to slavery was, not only that it was un-English, but inhuman, and an offence against the law of God. If, when we passed our Emancipation Act,

Act, and fixed a time for slavery to cease, we had added, that trade in slave produce was to cease at the same time, we have no doubt that what our wisest manufacturers desire should be done now, would have been done then. English skill and capital would have been drawn to the vast regions in our own dominions which only need their presence to yield superabundant stores; and, as we may afterwards show, this country would have been the pecuniary gainer. Even if the balance were against us, is it a new or strange thing for our nation to make sacrifices for freedom and justice? Are we not roused to costly wars on far slighter grounds? If we have lately spent 70,000,000*l.* and 40,000 lives, rather than that a Mahommedan slaveholding country should be oppressed, would it be quite absurd to sink the same money, without the loss of a life, to make a passive, but no less effectual, resistance to the enslavement of the millions who bear the name of our Saviour, and utter it in our mother tongue? 'Impossible!' say some; 'such a law would only be made to be broken.' Can they show us any law that is not broken? Would they choose to be smugglers? If not, why insinuate that the majority of our merchants are not as loyal and honourable as themselves? But we have not carried out our professed principles, and have exposed ourselves to taunts from the Southerners, such as these:—

After stating instances in which England has refused to interfere in behalf of the oppressed in Europe, the writer continues—'Why England should love the negro more than the Pole, or the Hungarian, or the Christian in Turkey, or the Italian, is a question we will not attempt to answer. We do not care to answer it, because we believe that in this free-negro question Great Britain is influenced, as any other nation would be influenced, by what she conceives are her highest colonial, domestic, commercial, manufacturing, and political interests. If not, the free importation of "slave"-grown produce into the United Kingdom would be prohibited. For, in the language of Lord Grey, when speaking upon this very subject, the receiver of stolen goods, knowing or believing them to be stolen, is guilty of theft. The nation which brands as piracy, and denounces as infamy, robbery, and murder, the very labour, the direct and increased produce of which is encouraged by the revenue and tariff system of the country, is certainly guilty of participating in the infamy; with this material difference—that the people who possess servants, and do not conceive it wrong to grow cotton and sugar by coerced negro labour, are clear of the moral crime committed by those abolitionists who daily consume "slave-grown" produce. And it is here that the "moral alliance" with Africa is broken. As between free-negroism and free-trade, the great interest of England is on the side of the latter, and so she sacrifices her "moral alliance" to the necessities of her industry and commerce. As she allied with Russia against France and with France against Russia—as she first instituted the "Institution" of negro servitude and then denounced it—as she goes about over the world proclaiming free-negroism, but yet admitting duty-free the produce of every "slave" country, so in regard to the whole African policy, it has its motive, its selfish impulse, and its personal end. The question embraces these elements upon the well-known principle that every man buys in the cheapest and sells in the dearest market. And no people understand this truism better than the clear-headed Saxons who inhabit these isles. And in no manner do they exemplify their faith and practice more than in this very matter of the negro. For while England sells her "free-negro" principles in the highest and most remunerative "moral" marts throughout Christendom, she

she buys the produce of "slavery" in the cheapest markets, and no questions asked.'*

Many abolitionists in this country resolve to use only the produce of free labour; but as long as slave-grown cotton is what is mainly imported, we can have little security for its presence, even in those goods which are nominally free. When the cotton-broker who has given the preference to American cotton, said to be collected by one or two bales at a time, from plantations widely separated, where free labour only was used, finds a greater family resemblance in colour, cleanliness, length, and clearness of fibre, than usually occurs in the same number of bales, even from the same plantation, can he help suspecting deception? When the manufacturer finds an acquaintance asking him for the use of his stamp, may he not question whether the abolitionists always get the goods they ask for?

The chief responsibility rests with our manufacturers and merchants. Too many, however, forget their manhood, when under the influence of commerce; and only believe in the freedom of men, so far as it is reconcileable with the freedom of trade. Free trade is excellent, but parodies of it are absurd and dangerous. Only those trades should be free which are lawful. Since freedom promotes growth, no trade should be free which it is the interest of society to repress. No one recommends free trade in diseased meats. No one who abhors intemperance would invite every one to sell intoxicating drinks without let or hindrance. No honest man would knowingly purchase from another what did not belong to him, however cheap the price and excellent the quality. Free trade does not mean trade with those who make free with what belongs to others, nor freedom to sell our consciences by trading with freebooters, pirates, or receivers of stolen goods. But we are told, that if we refuse to deal with a man because he is in some way immoral, we shall cease to deal at all. No doubt; but it does not follow that we are therefore justified in dealing with him in that very particular which, in our judgment, is immoral. A teetotaller may pay for board and lodging at a publican's, but will not buy his gin; the law allows it, but his own rule of right forbids it. The slaveholder's law (made by slaveholders) permits him to rob his slave; but as long as we reverence our own law and the law written in our hearts, which declare such practice a crime, we cannot deal with him in that which he has extorted from his slave. No trader who has any claim to morality can ignore morality in his trade transactions. We do not wish to write with self-righteous severity. We are using slave produce ourselves, because we do not know how to avoid it; but at the

* 'The London Cotton Plant,' p. 201.

same

same time we are doing what we can to direct attention to a better market; and this is what we ask from our mercantile friends to whom the 'dollar' is not 'almighty.'

We are reminded * that

'Of course it is easy for philanthropists to talk of what is our duty in these matters, and to assume that everything else ought to give way to the paramount necessity of uprooting slavery. But it is not so easy to comply with their exhortations. If we were to enter into a compact to take no more slave-grown cotton, we should soon have a revolution.'

We do not believe it, though the most beneficial changes may be attended with suffering. If science is inexorable, so is conscience. When a machine is invented, the manufacturer does not set it aside because many of his artisans will be deprived of their usual employment. The Lancashire mobs broke in pieces the spinning-jennies and carding machines; and Hargreaves and Arkwright were driven from the county. The mobs were not wise in their narrow self-regard. As improved machinery brings prosperity out of temporary distress, so must improved morality. If our capitalists were resolved to leave slave-grown cotton alone, we may show that they would ultimately be gainers. It must not, however, be assumed that our cotton business is now such an unmixed blessing that every change must be an injury. Any one who goes from our magnificent mills and warehouses to the crowded haunts of our artisans, may doubt whether a dense population is the criterion of happiness, and whether the squalid and care-worn persons he meets—many of whom have been often nearly desperate for want of employment—might not have been happier, if, when they left their rural homes, they had migrated to our colonies. Productiveness is no sure sign of prosperity. It has been thought enough to import plenty of cotton-wool, and to export plenty of fabrics. Our merchants have blindly got most of their cotton from those who did not pay their labourers, and sent many of their goods to those who did not pay *them*. Our losses last year showed that it is wise to know something about those with whom we deal. Even if our manufacturers had been honestly paid, they would have been losers by the present system. When they had cheap cotton and large profits, they built new mills. Cotton became scarce, and its price rose; but in consequence of the increased competition, the price of the goods did not rise in proportion. In 1856, 920,000,000 lbs. of cotton were consumed. An advance of a farthing a pound on this quantity amounts to nearly a million sterling; and as the increase of price last year was about threepence a pound, between eleven and twelve millions sterling went from the pocket of the manufacturer. Deducting the profit of the broker, and the proportion that went to

* 'Manchester Guardian', Oct. 20, 1858.

other

other markets, we may reckon the increased gains of the slave-holder at seven or eight millions sterling. We, who would not permit our West India planters to keep slaves, and gave twenty millions for their freedom, have since been giving a far larger sum to the American planter, which has proved a premium on slavery!

We need not continue in this position. Any amount of cotton may be grown on free soil; nor need the crop in the United States diminish if slavery were abolished. Sufficient wages will procure more work than the lash, even for the most noxious employments. In the last century, salt works and coal mines in Scotland were worked by slaves; and when their emancipation was proposed, their owners declared that they should be ruined, for they could never procure toil of that description without compulsion.* Experience showed their error. Planters in the United States have found it cheapest to employ Irish navigators in draining and other works of an unhealthy character.† But to raise cotton is not unhealthy. The plant does not require a tropical heat, like the sugar-cane, nor swampy lowlands, like the rice; nor is this statement weakened by allowing that whites might suffer on some plantations, where it is at present grown. Mr. Stirling tells us that in Alabama the small farmers, who are too poor to own slaves, produce, with the help of their families, two, three, or five bales per annum. In Texas it is raised by the free labour of Germans, and the quality is confessedly superior to that produced by slave labour.

We cannot state too emphatically that it is not to slavery, but to her partnership with freedom, that the South is indebted for the place her cotton holds in our markets. Cheap cotton does not imply ill-paid labour. Whilst the price of cotton has fallen 500 per cent. in the last sixty years, the price of labour has probably risen 300 per cent. in the slave states. The planter there competes successfully with the East Indian, though, in addition to the food and clothing which the Negro and Hindoo receive alike, he has paid 1,000 dollars to the slave-dealer. The Southern planter surpasses the Hindoo, as the English millowner does, through machinery and superior intelligence and energy. This he chiefly derives from the free North and free England. The cotton gin, which cleans the cotton wool with such a vast saving of manual toil, was the invention of Whitney, a Northerner; the railroads and steamboats, which bring it to the market so cheaply and speedily, are the inventions of freemen, made by free labour. Slavery is stagnant by nature. The contrast between the North and South, great as it is, would be greater still, were it not for the continual infusion into the slave states of talent and capital from the North. There

* Wilberforce's Appeal, p. 52.

† 'The Cultivation of the Orleans Staple Cotton,' p. 15.

can

can be little doubt that the slave states would share more of the prosperity and progress of the North if they also were free. The tide of immigration would no longer be checked; the 'mean whites' would be stimulated to industry, nor is it to be supposed that the negroes would lapse into indolence. They are the minority, not the large majority, as in the West Indies, and they would have to exert themselves to compete with the emigrants. Indeed, our own free negroes work with cheerful alacrity for the sum which the planter now gives, when he has to hire slaves. Some Americans have already, as a business speculation, given wages to negroes, and permitted them to purchase their freedom; and it has paid well. Our West Indian experience proves that there is no danger of violence to life or property from emancipation; and whilst the cotton crop would ultimately improve through it, the injury which it might probably cause for a time would be far less than is threatened by the outbreaks which menace the present iniquitous system. Unnatural crime is a volcano. 'I tremble for my country,' said President Jefferson, 'when I remember that God is just, and that his justice may not sleep for ever.' Any loss to ourselves is questionable; the gain is more certain in the improved condition of millions, who might prove our customers. The South, when it has abolished slavery, will no longer be inclined to pay the hush-money of a heavy tariff to the manufacturers of the North. A real free trade may result from freedom. We need scarcely confute the fallacy that slavery is a great peacemaker. On the contrary, the slave power is notoriously aggressive: it invaded Mexico; it threatens Cuba; it covets our West Indies: in many ways it provokes collision.

We have dwelt at some length on the effect of our dealings with the Southern States upon the labouring population there; because the Association, whose publications we recommend to our readers, treats the question as a commercial one. The inquiries directed to our consuls (to which we alluded) have met with a very encouraging response. Cotton plants of various kinds, yielding wool of every quality, thrive, or can be made to thrive, in numerous regions on both hemispheres. There is no lack of suitable soil or climate. Since all the cotton we receive from America can be grown on fewer acres than are contained in Yorkshire, it is not land that we want; nor is it men to labour; but the enterprise, skill, and capital which shall make land and labour productive. We send millions of pounds to America, and make the slave's bondage heavier; we might send them the money instead, where it would greatly elevate the condition of the cultivator.

Brazil, which furnishes 5 per cent. of our present supply; Egypt, which furnishes 4½ per cent., are, it is true, slave States. Brazil, however, has abolished its slave-trade, through British influence. Other

Other countries might be named which may send us cotton, when enterprise is protected by good government. Most can be done —where it is our duty to do most—in those regions which are under our protection or dominion.

The opponents of slavery naturally look to Africa. An African institution was formed by Mr. Wilberforce and his friends, after the abolition of the slave-trade in 1807, which offered prizes of fifty guineas to the largest importers of West-African produce, specifying a quantity not less than a ton of cotton wool. This enterprise, and another which followed negro emancipation in 1833, did not meet with the success they deserved. Not one-tenth of the energy was shown in procuring the produce of Africa that our merchants had displayed in robbing her of her sons. Eight years ago, however, Mr. Thomas Clegg of Manchester, in his desire to check the slave-trade, availed himself of the help of the missionaries to send to African chiefs cotton seed, and instructions for its use. He since had three African youths at his own mill, to teach them the best process of cleaning cotton, and three more are about to come, to be instructed as mechanics, &c. Two young men have just gone out, to whom the Association presented eight cotton gins. They will push the trade in the interior. The first year he received only about 235 lbs.; but, with the help of our consul at Lagos, Mr. Campbell, the quantity has steadily increased. In 1858 he received 1,112 bales; other houses, 95: total, 1,207 bales, at 120 lbs. each, equal to 146,047 lbs. There are besides 610 bales on the way. This immense increase in so short a time is most encouraging. Progress is likely to be rapid now, as eight presses have been sent out lately, capable of turning out ten bales daily. Consul Campbell will also push the trade vigorously. The Association aids him with 500*l.* for machinery. The enthusiasm which has greeted Dr. Livingstone's efforts to open out the cotton resources of Africa, renders any allusion to his great work unnecessary. We have the mortification of knowing, that if this country had devoted the money, the time, the ships, the courage and enterprise, and the men which have been employed in the warlike prevention of the slave-trade, to stimulate the civilisation of Africa, the number of abductions would have diminished, and we should have benefited the Africans and ourselves, instead of paying a bounty to slaveholding cotton growers. Our eagerness for a supply, however, must not blind us to the danger of rushing into the evils we would avoid. Consul Campbell tells us that the African's capital is invested in domestic slaves for labour;* and we learn from Commodore Wise that the president of Liberia proposes

* He notices, however, that the Pagan is not so severe a master as the Christian! 'Cotton Supply Reporter,' p. 54.

to

to cultivate cotton by domestic slaves, hired from the native chiefs. There is much reason to fear that Liberia, colonised by slave-holders, inherits the spirit of its founders.* Late accounts show that the encouragement recently given to the slave-trade by European powers has had a disastrous effect on the growth of cotton and other articles of commerce.

It will be some time before civilisation will have made such progress in Africa that we can rely on it for any considerable proportion of our supply. In 1806 the West Indies contributed about 30 per cent. of the cotton which came to Liverpool; they now send but ½ per cent. The remedy is thought to lie in the transportation of negroes or coolies; but the greatest abuses may follow, when persons of a class which has been subjected to slavery are carried into regions recently tainted with slavery. If we look at the immense cotton fields where population now seems super-abundant, we see that the want is, not so much of the rank and file, as of the captains of industry, who shall enable them to work more efficiently and profitably.

This is remarkably the case with India. Its exports of cotton to us have increased, it is true, from 7,787 bales in 1806 to about 463,000 bales in 1856; from 3 per cent. to 19 per cent. of our whole imports. In 1818 it furnished 247,659 bales (40,000 more than the United States), but in 1822 it only sent 19,263 bales. On looking over the table of imports for a series of years, we are struck by the fluctuations. They partly arise from the fact, that, owing to the facilities which their free neighbours have imparted to the slave states, American cotton, in proportion to its quality, has been the cheapest in our market; and it is only in dear years that large importations from India have been profitable. No considerable amount of land is cultivated there on our account, and any unusual export is attended with distress to the native manufacturers, who are deprived of their usual supply. The slaveholder whom we rebuke points scornfully to the condition of that vast empire. From the evidence of Mr. Mangles, chairman of the directors of the East India Company, we learn that, whilst it professed to be the steward of the country for the development of its resources, out of 300,000,000*l.* which it had received from 1834 to 1848, only 1,400,000*l.*—little more than 1*d.* a pound—had been spent on roads, works of irrigation, &c., which are absolutely essential for its fertility and trade. It is questionable which has caused most destruction—what has been done with that immense revenue, or what has been left undone. 'Meliora' has spoken with no uncertain voice on the opium curse.† Whilst we were enjoying

* See the 'Edinburgh Review,' for October—'Slavery and the Slave Trade,' and 'The London Cotton Plant,' p. 227.

† 'The East India Company and the Opium Trade.'—'Meliora,' pp. 28—46.

peace

peace at home, war was continually raging there. Meanwhile ancient reservoirs of immense cost are in ruins, regions which were once luxuriant have been suffered to lie waste, and famine has been as fatal as the sword. We hope that after the tempest which has filled us with horror, a brighter era has dawned. The people of India are now our fellow-subjects. The war system has not produced the happiest results; but something may be hoped from commerce cherished by good government. Ceylon has been better ruled than India, and the result has been remarkably encouraging. Lord Stanley, the Secretary for India, has shown, by his speeches before the Cotton Supply Association, and on other occasions, that he knows what is wanted; and we hope he will be able to cope with the difficulties which retard its accomplishment. If half the 25,000,000*l.* of English capital which is now invested in American railways—if the 10,000,000*l.* which is annually lost to this country from our dependence on American cotton—were directed to the improvement of India, the mutual benefit would be great indeed. An Englishman at home can scarcely realise the immense waste which arises from neglect in India. When the vast area now lying useless is cultivated; when the fields which now yield only 40 lbs. of clean cotton, far too dry and crisp, produce, through irrigation, 200 or 300 lbs. as fine and long and silky as any in the world; when the bales that are now conveyed for hundreds of miles on the backs of bullocks are borne to the port on steam-boats and railroads, our cotton lords will no longer be the servants of the slaveholder. Public works are not all that India wants. From the slovenly and adulterated state in which Indian cotton comes into our market, it is usually worth 25 per cent. less than American. The carelessness and dishonesty of the natives must be remedied by intercourse with men of probity and business habits. As we improve the men we deal with, we shall improve their dealings; and as their moral and physical condition is raised, the market for our manufactures will expand beyond calculation.*

We have scarcely done more than introduce this subject to the notice of our readers. We think that they can scarcely peruse the works to which we refer them without being astonished at the apathy which has prevailed. An enlightened self-interest imperatively calls on cotton manufacturers to obtain new fields, without which they are at the mercy of a foreign nation, and free trade is a shadow. But we do not suppose that selfishness is the only motive by which British traders are influenced. If our people sacrifice millions every year on the indulgence of their passions, we believe there are those who would sacrifice no less to the claims of justice and benevolence.

* In the first half of 1858, 386,478,095 yards of calico were exported to India.

This we know, that those who labour for us are, in one sense, *our* labourers. There is a link between those who grow our cotton, those who manufacture it, and those who consume it. Distance cannot break this link, nor the ocean dissolve it. Our love for America—for, next to our own land, no other is so dear—kindles our desire to see it free from its curse; our pity for the slave calls on us to remember his bonds as bound with him, and not to be partners in oppressing him; our interest in the millions of India prompts us to the enterprises which may turn those who are dissatisfied, listless, and half-starved, into willing, skilful, intelligent, and active labourers. A more earnest regard for the destitute and oppressed abroad, will remove many of the causes of distress at home. Social science and enlightened philanthropy must widen and clear the gaze of commercial wisdom. A warm heart and a courageous spirit must sustain the perseverance which is needed for success.

Art. V.—*The Times*, November 6th, 1858. Article on the Speech of Mr. Hutt, M.P., before the Gateshead Temperance Union.

THE modern gods are very human; at once inconstant, cruel, and indolent. They would fain strangle every demigod in the cradle, out of sheer jealousy, or even mere aversion to contribute a salute of thunder to his honour. Frustrated in this, however, they will, with a flunkeyism excessively terrene, laud and glorify the genius which they have failed to destroy, adore the fate which is stronger than themselves, and bow their heads to all the favourites of fortune who have achieved success. Hence it comes to pass, that the Jupiter Tonans of the diurnal press, who, in perfect keeping with his treatment of all infant questions, has so frequently fulminated his ridicule and hurled his bolts against the Temperance Society, is now pleased to patronise its friends and even to expound its philosophy! No event can be more significant of the vast social influence attained by these organisations; but the immediate occasion of this alteration of tone and treatment—the proximate impulse to the patronage and eulogy of mere moral suasion—is the formidable attitude which prohibition has recently assumed in the political sphere. Our political Jove, from the pinnacle of his Olympus, clearly discerns 'the signs of the times,' foresees a coming tempest in which his thunder will have to play a distinguished part. Politicians and statesmen cannot much longer ignore the subject, or safely postpone its discussion; vague generalities, and effete worn-out remedies have ceased to content the popular mind; and that evil which is the acknowledged source of three-fourths of our social vices and crimes, is not only a topic of permanent

permanent importance, but one which is every day absorbing a greater space in the public eye. We seize this opportunity for submitting to our readers some reflections grounded upon an historic survey of the temperance enterprise, and upon an analysis of the causes of the vice which it aims gradually to check, and finally to eradicate.

The temperance reformation, like all other movements originating with the people, sprang out of the pressure of circumstances; for opinion, or mere theory, apart from urgent wants, never yet generated great changes among the masses. Experience, in its bitter form of suffering, is the sole mother of their wisdom. Neither political nor social revolutions have any other source; and it is the instinct of common sense that points out the cure to which misery first prompts. The working classes had long been crushed and despoiled by intemperance—had long felt the tyranny of custom and of the public-house—until at last they grew desperate with despair. Sick of suffering, they were prepared both for a revolt and a remedy. The pulpit and the press had proclaimed 'moderation' and 'temperance' to little purpose; the machinery of seduction and temptation set at nought the verbal barriers of exhortation; and in spite of the protest—chiefly valuable as initiating a truer principle of action—intemperance held riot and carnival amongst the people, subverting their hopes of domestic happiness, and rendering their social elevation utterly impossible. The original prescription of the British and Foreign Temperance Society, copied from the social doctors of America, singularly absurd in itself, was still more absurd when applied to Great Britain. The first pledge was that of total abstinence from distilled spirits, united with the use of undistilled alcohol in cider, beer, and wine! In a country where the two latter agents of inebriation were but sparely used, this prescription was at least practically equivalent to what is now designated 'teetotalism,' and for a time, therefore—until those tolerated agents began to occupy the place and do the work of the proscribed 'ardent spirit'—was productive of immense benefit. But the application of such a pledge to the very different circumstances of this country was a practical blunder. Not only did it conflict with science, and involve a verbal distinction where there was no vital difference, it had the fatal defect of leaving untouched that form of alcoholic agency which was the fountain of three-fourths of British intemperance. Drunkenness did not sensibly abate, while pauperism and crime increased, until the evil became intolerable. The politicians and the press grasped at a legislative panacea which had no remedial relation to the evil, but was, in fact, a part of the cause; and under the influence of a theory, the Beer Bill was passed by parliament, with the most glowing vaticinations of future sobriety. 'Free trade' in beer was at once to secure the

purchaser a pure article, and to wean him from more obnoxious beverages. The cure for the nation's madness was a little of the hair of the dog by which it was bitten; the same delusion which has since been reproduced in the cry of 'light wines' for 'heavy wet.' But the vivid anticipations of the authors of that luckless measure were doomed to disappointment. Never were fine promises followed by such shabby performances. The act made matters worse instead of better. While the old evils were aggravated, some fresh ones were engendered, and a new army of interests created, implacably hostile to temperance and progress.* At this juncture the Preston movement commenced, headed by Teare, Livesey, Grubb, Swindlehurst, and Anderton—the first apostles of the new system. Hope revived amongst the people, and in the north of England, especially in the centres of manufactures and popular intelligence, there was kindled up an enthusiasm of an extraordinary description. The exigency of the case had at last suggested the antidote, which was sharp, radical, and decisive. To use the blunt provincialism of 'Dicky Turner'—one of the famous seven of Preston who had proved the inefficiency of the former scheme for liberating the people from so desperate a thraldom—it was altogether 'botheration,' and to effect their redemption they must 'teetotally' abstain. The philosophy of the movement came later. One or two leaders had clear and just conceptions of the subject from the beginning; but as a national idea and method it was gradually developed into its present shape out of the necessities of the time.

It was a providential circumstance, that the inauguration of temperance amongst the people was contemporaneous with the close of an era of debauch amongst the aristocracy. The improvement so visible in the higher strata of society during the last twenty years, and the striking difference of tone which prevails in regard to the excesses of the table, is falsely imputed to any sudden progress of knowledge, which does not, indeed, exist. It is mainly the work of fashion, founded on the accident of the royal succession. We are old enough to recollect the court of William, the fourth of that name, not to speak of the last of the Georges, and we need not further allude to the manners, sobriety, and morals of that period. 'Like priest, like people; like king, like courtier;' are proverbs that were verified to the letter. But these monarchs

* It has done even more and worse. This measure has thrown back efficient reform for many years. In 1830, people, press, and parliament, acknowledged the necessity for some stringent and sweeping legislative interference with the traffic—of which the passing of the Beer Bill is the historical witness—whereas now, after a lapse of a quarter of a century, with a singular obliviousness of our former position, the general press, the magistracy, the Home Government, and the Church, can muster up courage to propose nothing better than a mere negation—the abolition of the exploded nostrum of the Beer-house Act!

were

were childless, and the crown descended upon a purer brow, the sceptre passed to a fairer hand—the noble lady who happily still presides, in all queenly virtues and honour, over the destinies of Britain. With her came simpler manners, and purer laws of fashion; and the tide of intemperance received a check in high quarters.

Voluntary associations for promoting sobriety, and for spreading a knowledge of the evils of strong drink, were formed in every part of the realm, and the new doctrine rapidly gained converts amongst the peasantry and artisans of England. Many happy personal reformations were effected, and some remarkable local ones. Attention was directed to the duty of magistrates in respect to licences, and the question, so to speak, underwent a revision and discussion in the public mind. Unfortunately, however, the striking reforms achieved in a district did not prove lasting and general. A certain intensity of effort occasioned a certain sympathy, which was epidemical, and then came a reaction. The enthusiasm of benevolence passed away; the disciples were left subject to the old circumstances and temptations, before the perpetual influence of which, resolves and pledges offered but an ineffectual resistance. Noble fruits were undoubtedly realised here and there, triumphs which will for ever adorn and honour the movement and the men of that time. The truth must not be concealed, however; the issue was nationally disappointing, the result was not one in which the earnest reformer could satisfactorily rest; the temperance reformation was yet a thing of the future. In spite of thirty years of earnest and enthusiastic labour—in spite of the advocacy of an original band of temperance advocates, simple, earnest, and even eloquent men, perambulating the entire kingdom—in spite of the circulation of tracts, periodicals, and books by millions—in spite of hundreds of local societies, of many county associations, and of two or three national leagues—intemperance is still the characteristic vice of Britain, and the source of three-fourths of our madness, pauperism, and crime. The splendid successes of Father Mathew have left but a remnant of good behind them, and the distilleries of Ireland are in 'full blast' once more. In a London temperance paper of the date of January 9, 1858, we find this naïve confession:—'The great evil of our age (is) still rampant and destructive, in spite of all we are doing or have done. We speak advisedly. We do so with sorrow and with shame; we never saw so much drunkenness in London; we were never so convinced of the unfitness of large masses of our countrymen for the enjoyment of rational recreation as during the late Christmas.' Tall and imposing as the tree appears, is there not something at the root? Is there not some fatal flaw in the machinery, or workings, of these organisations? Professor Laycock has put to their

their conductors a most pertinent question:—'To do justice to the labours of temperance societies, I will say no more than this, that they are multifarious and incessant. The practical question is—Are they sufficient to attain the object aimed at? Are voluntary associations, however powerful, equal to the mighty undertaking? I think not.' Without derogation to the merits of these associations, we must concur with the professor. It is a conclusion forced upon us by history, and it is one which we must arrive at equally from a knowledge of the causes of our national vice.

That drunkenness springs from drinking is a truism, but it is not true that gluttony arises from eating. There is a contrast in the cases which is obvious to the most unreflective mind, and the peculiarity lies at the basis of the question. Food satisfies, intoxicating drink stimulates. It is the creator of its own appetite, which grows with the element whereon it feeds. This is a law common to all narcotic stimulants. Literary history is full of examples of this law in the case of opium, as well as of alcohol. Tobacco affords a trite illustration. We know of more than one instance of intellectual men, where the passion engendered by the use of this agent has induced absolute idiotcy; and there are thousands of persons who, at first, could take up or lay down their pipe at will, that are now the veriest slaves of the narcotic weed. The doctrine of habit by no means explains these cases; but only the peculiar properties of the agent habitually employed. The 'Times' overlooks this peculiarity, and hence exaggerates the difficulty of the antidote. 'What,' it inquires, 'will the crusade against bad smells, foul air, bad water, nuisances, and unwholesomenesses of all kinds, do, if we are to let this monster evil, drunkenness, alone? Stenches, damps, and exhalations, crowded lodging-houses, and clogged-up drains are not pleasant things; but they are, after all, easier things to deal with than the human will.' This is a great misconception; for in treating drunkenness and its causes, we have not to deal with any natural stubbornness or perversity of human nature, or of the will, but simply with an abnormal, self-gendered craving, dependent upon a physical agent at once for its creation and its continuance; and as we have intimated, in the great majority of cases, the unhappy slaves of this appetite are willing to be emancipated from its debasing bondage. A recent canvass for the Permissive Bill of the United Kingdom Alliance has elicited the encouraging fact, that the lower we go into the social strata, the more eager and uniform is the desire expressed for its protection. The real difficulties of this case are therefore institutional, and the solution of the problem can be reached only by touching the outward temptations and incitements to drunkenness. The 'Times' rightly indicated the reason why the greatest of all our social evils should have had so little said concerning it at the

the late sociological conference at Liverpool. 'It is not a very agreeable subject,' since it calls for practical self-denial, as well as oratory. The world is pretty well disgusted with mere palaver; and unless people are prepared to do something, it is better to be silent. But the 'Times' errs egregiously when it adds, that 'another reason, perhaps, why drunkenness and its cure were not introduced [prominently at least] into the discussion, was, that there is so little to be said about it.' The higher literature of temperance societies and of the United Kingdom Alliance readily refutes the assertion; and we must fall back upon the alternative that there is, in certain quarters, as there has been in the 'Times' itself, an indisposition to meddle with the question in a thoroughly earnest and exhaustive manner. It asserts in this connexion, that the one thing 'almost universally agreed' upon, is 'the absurdity of legislating on the subject.' This appears to us an entire misrepresentation of the tendency and actual condition of public opinion. In the best-educated states of the best-educated country in the world, the temperance reformation has actually culminated in legislation, and we perceive no signs of any disposition in the people to alter their policy in this respect. In our own country, legislation against the causes of drunkenness was never tried but once, and then only for a few months, and in the most bungling fashion. We have hitherto legislated against the stream, not the fountain—against effects, not causes—and have therefore of course failed to realise satisfactory results.* The solitary and partial exception is the legislation of 1735, when the Lords called for prohibition of the traffic in gin, and the Commons conceded a prohibitive-license fee! Botched as the measure was, and preceded by no popular demand or preparation such as now manifests itself even at vast political gatherings of the people, it failed by no defect inherent in itself. It was altogether an executive blunder, as we shall prove by reviving the knowledge of a fact which the historians have passed unnoted. The presentments of the grand juries of London, Middlesex, and the Tower Hamlets, for the January sessions of 1735-36, now lie before us, containing this emphatic testimony:—'That our lower kind of people are enfeebled and disabled, having neither the *will* nor the *power* to labour for an honest livelihood, which is a principal reason of the great increase of the poor. . . . . Most of the murders and robberies lately committed have been laid and concerted at gin-shops, and [the perpetrators] being *fired* with these hot spirits, they are ready prepared to execute the most bold and daring attempts. . . . . We, the grand jury, do present all such brandy-shops, where spirituous liquors are *sold and vended by retail*, as

* The objection, however, is confuted by the fact, that they who make it, dare not recommend the abolition of restrictive laws against the traffic.

PUBLIC NUISANCES . . . . They are a high grievance, and of the greatest ill-consequence to *all* our fellow subjects. . . . . The number of *Sellers* will soon be near equal to the *Drinkers* of this General Poison.'. Law, clearly, has done something since then to check, if not satisfactorily to reduce to a minimum, the flowings of this vice. But the 'Justices' Report' furnishes the most illuminating evidence as to the cause of failure. 'It is scarce possible for persons in low life to go anywhere, without being *drawn in* to taste, and *by degrees to like*, this pernicious liquor. ALEHOUSE-KEEPERS, *etc., are most commonly the persons appointed to execute the said Laws, and bring offenders to Justice.*' Bad as things were, the justices were not shut up in that helpless social-fatalism which seems to paralyse the thoughts and efforts of our modern magistrates, for they conclude with a happy prediction which we hope to see realised in the present generation. 'This evil must, we think, some time or other find a Remedy. We submit to the consideration of the Sessions, how far it is in their power, and by what means, to *suppress* this great and dangerous evil [of the traffic]; or whether any, and what application to our Superiours may be proper, *in order to a more effectual remedy.*'

'Setting legislation aside,' argues the 'Times,' 'what do we know about the cure of drunkenness? All we know can be said in two words. (1.) We know that a man can cure himself if he will exert his will. (2.) There are two, and we believe only two, great known aids to the drunkard's will—abstinence and sympathy.'* The strong-minded Dr. Samuel Johnson long ago pointed out the way in which a man given to drink could cure himself—namely, by abstinence. 'This,' said he, 'is easy to me; but moderation in its use, impossible.' Why is the latter so difficult, if not impossible? Because the use of the drink is the introduction of an enemy into the citadel, which augments the force of impulse, creates or revives the craving which is ungovernable, and paralyses the will itself. The first object is to induce the exertion of the will in the slave, so that he shall adopt means of deliverance, for he cannot liberate himself by mere volition. He has already, in most cases, a desire for his ancient freedom; all discrowned as he is, he looks with regret upon his lost dominion. What hinders aspiration? Despair, founded on the failure of many efforts, and on the dissolution of troops of strong resolves before the forces of social temptation. Sympathy, therefore, and encouragement, are his first needs, not his second; for hope must precede any attempt to abstain from the agent of inebriation. Such efforts, however intense, are transient. The

* The 'Times' lays stress on 'limited periods of abstinence;' whereas, in fact, ninety-nine out of every hundred reformed drunkards did *not* sign for limited periods, but for life; so that the 'Times' is philosophising against the facts!

enfeebled

enfeebled slave cannot keep up the mental strain; and his safety can only be found in an alteration of his environment. Without this he will, in the long run, and in the majority of instances, furnish another sad illustration of the overwhelming influence of

> 'Circumstance, that unspiritual god and miscreator,
> Whose touch turns hope to dust.'

The temperance movement has had its share of ups and downs, of triumphs and reverses. As the 'Times' wisely says, 'They have in their day, and at intervals, done a good deal; they are not doing so much now. There is a fashion in these things. This machinery for acting on the human imagination is not always to be got up at the exact moment you want it; it depends on the turns of enthusiasm, on individual impulses, on the unknown succession of ideas in human society.' Unless we are prodigiously mistaken, the succession of ideas may now be certainly predicted. The leaders of this movement have inaugurated the ideas, and the people are rapidly accepting them. The science of the reformation is completed, and the true business is the promulgation of the remedy. Men begin to drink, either because they believe strong drink to be good or because it is the custom and fashion to drink; and drinking begets the inclination and craving which is the parent of all drunkenness. False notions, therefore, must be displaced by true ones; bad customs by good ones. The machinery for this already exists in the temperance societies, which, by press and platform, diffuse information, and by associative protest weaken the tyranny of custom. As Bacon profoundly remarks, 'There is no trusting to the force of nature, nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate by custom.' He adds, 'Custom, copulate and collegiate, is far greater. The great multiplication of Virtues upon human nature RESTETH UPON SOCIETIES WELL ORDAINED.' The traffic in strong drink is at once the feeder of appetite, the purveyor of custom, the false instructor of the people, and the seducer of virtue, the temptation to vice, the foe of temperance, the implacable enemy of knowledge, and the chartered fountain of disorder and crime. With a traffic in strong drink in its midst, no society can be 'well ordained,' for the central element of misrule is there. It is an institution, 'copulate and collegiate,' active and multiform, always antagonistic to the true ends of civil society, and, of necessity, ever defeating the best-meant efforts of the patriot and philanthropist. But this institution originates in the political mind, and is sustained chiefly by legislation. As it is the politician who votes it into being, or sustains it by his suffrage, so must it be the politician who votes it out of existence. Moral suasion can enlighten the voter, but the actual votes alone can influence the parliament and secure

secure the Permissive Bill, which will enable the people to protect themselves from the snare, the burden, and the curse of the traffic in strong drink. Let the temperance man as citizen—the philanthropist as citizen—the Christian as citizen—see to the efficient discharge of their grave responsibilities in this matter. The time is critical, and the golden moment should not be lost.

Art. VI.—Our Friends in Council.

*** *This space in the Review is open to our Friends in Council. Brief papers on questions of Social Science and Reform will be inserted. We do not endorse the opinions of our Correspondents.*—Ed.

1. Unprotected Females.

IN looking over the columns of advertisements in the 'Times' newspaper day by day, the most unobservant must sometimes be struck by the numerous appeals made by females of all ages and degrees of cultivation, from the decayed gentlewoman to the servant-of-all-work. Some offer their services for board and lodging only; while others of higher pretensions proffer musical lessons, &c., for sixpence an hour. The average of these advertisements for one month, taken by the writer, was from forty to sixty daily. Such an exhibition argues an amount of distress among the female community that is absolutely startling to those who take it for granted that the majority of females are provided for, either by marriage or otherwise, by thoughtful parents or considerate relatives. A reference to the census would dispel such an illusion. Few persons, however, refer to this matter-of-fact production merely to obtain materials for reflection; although few compositions are more pregnant with deep meaning, or more suggestive of subjects of the most vital interest.

From the census (of 1851) we learn that there were 1,407,225 unmarried women between the ages of 20 and 40, and that 720,000 of them were dependent on their industry. 55,433 were employed as day-workers—that is, going daily in the morning to work at some place away from their homes, and returning at night. There were 395,969 unmarried women above 40 years of age, and about 10,000 widows, numbers of these with children dependent upon their exertions; and 117,815 were dependent upon public charity, and resident in, or receiving aid from our workhouses and charitable institutions; while 11,776 belonged to our nomade population—that is, the homeless and destitute, those who sleep in barns and tents, or under bridges, &c. The last fact we glean from the census is sufficiently startling: there were 80,000 prostitutes. The majority of these working and dependent women, with their unhappy, abandoned sisters, are found in the metropolis, London being a magnet to which all classes of the community direct their attention, more especially those who are called upon to earn their daily bread. There are hundreds, nay, thousands, who form the most extravagant notions of the resources of our vast city, deeming them to be unlimited. The fact is, London is so overstocked with adventurers and necessitous persons of all kinds, that no town in the world contains so much vice, misery, and wretchedness as this splendid emporium of wealth and luxury. In this vast amount of sin and misery the working female portion of society is a painfully prominent feature. In London the females are in the proportion of 113 to 100 males; consequently numbers are without male relatives or protectors. Many causes may be assigned for this state of things by those who study the science of statistics. We will only mention two of them, but they are the chief. It is too much the fashion to 'lecture' and 'address' the humbler classes upon the vices of extravagance and want of prudence, &c. The majority of our humble working

working population are patient and hardworking, thrifty and prudent. Witness the number of sick-clubs and benefit societies supported by them. The persons who require 'lectures' on extravagance and want of forethought are those who belong to what we must call the humbler gradations of the middling class. Time was when the words 'middling class' conveyed to the understanding a definite idea that there was a class that divided the upper and lower portions of society; but in these days, when such a miserable pride prevails in those classes whose incomes just keep them from poverty, it becomes difficult to say who does, or who does not, belong to the middling class. Of course the rich banker's wife, whose town house is in Russell Square, and whose husband has a 'villa' in one of the suburbs, and whose wealth enables her to load her dinner-table with plate, and welcome those who honour her with their company, only on account of the luxurious style of living to be met with there, belongs to the middling class. A clerk with 300*l.* a year would be most indignant if classed with any other rank than the one just named. We must therefore designate the class we now address as the 'genteel' classes—we mean those whose annual incomes range from 200*l.* or 300*l.* to 500*l.* or 1,000*l.* These classes of the community are perpetually endeavouring to identify themselves with the ranks just above them. To do this, all sorts of contrivances, many painful private sacrifices are made by the heads of families who have become affected with the absurd mania of vying with those who are better off than themselves. And when every unworthy, mean art has been practised, much private privation undergone, and the desired end is attained, and the man with 500*l.* a year gains an *entrée* to the better-appointed house of his neighbour of 1,000*l.* a year, he deceives no one, but probably excites the secret contempt of the very individual to whose level he thinks he has raised himself by spasmodic, anxious efforts. It is well when this false, miserable pride leads to nothing more serious than the loss of dignity which it necessarily involves. It is well for his family if he does not bring them to beggary, and himself into prison. There are thousands at this very time who are striving in this miserable race. These are the classes who fling on the world so many destitute women and children, so many 'old maids' and poor teachers, dressmakers, &c. It is the distressed females belonging to the genteel classes whose advertisements in the papers create surprise and pain in the minds of those who look beyond their own circle. When parents are straining every nerve, and practising the most pinching private economy to 'keep up appearances,' of course no thought is given as to the future provision of the girls, or it is assumed that they will marry well, they hope in 'good society.' Now as 43 out of 100 women never marry, this becomes a vague speculation; while the folly of teaching the poor girls to depend upon a contingency which may not happen cannot be too strongly deprecated. Thus it happens that hundreds of girls and women who have been (we cannot say educated, but) reared in the most useless way it is possible to conceive, are yearly flung upon society to (in the expressive language of the 'Times') 'stitch, starve, die—or do worse.' Unfortunately the so-called education of a young woman of the ordinary ranks of life, such as placemen, respectable tradesmen, clerks, &c., is supposed to be completed when she can play an 'air' or so decently on the piano, dance a quadrille, crochet collars or anti-macassars, and work a d'oyley or slipper in Berlin wool. If, in addition to these 'accomplishments,' she can add a sum in simple addition, or has any recollection of the multiplication table, she is fortunate. And it will ever be thus, while so many men are content to marry empty-headed women, fit only for household pets, and without the slightest notion of their responsibilities either to God or man. As the supply of an article generally meets the demand, so young girls would be more rationally trained, if it was found that by being so they went off better in the matrimonial market.

It is believed, rather too hastily, that the ranks of abandoned women are recruited wholly from the lower orders. But it is a fact well known to those benevolent individuals who take note of this part of our social system, that numbers of this wretched class have been the offspring of most respectable parents. Many a young girl falls a prey to the tempter by means of the very advertisement she inserts to obtain employment. We will suppose the case of

of a man with 300*l.* or 400*l.* a year and a large family, and who is infected with the prevailing insane desire to appear as if in possession of twice that income. Of course every pound is spent that can possibly be spared from necessary household expenses (and in numberless cases more than can be spared) to obtain those outward appliances which place himself and family apparently on a par with Mr. Johnson, or Mr. White, or Mr. Any-one-else, with a few hundreds more per annum. Of course, a parent whose whole thoughts and energies are engaged in appearing what he is not, is not likely to train his family in a sensible, useful way. The sons imbibe their father's ideas, and will not marry unless they can meet a girl with money. They consequently become, in too many cases, dissipated members of society. The girls are secluded as much as possible from all useful knowledge, their minds contracted into as narrow a circle as circumstances will allow, and for fear of vulgar associations they are not allowed to acquire a practical knowledge of domestic duties. They are taught, however, to lay themselves out for husbands, and altogether rendered as weakminded and useless as it is possible to conceive. If these girls get married. they are lucky; and as long as their fathers live to provide for their support they do not feel the necessity for a better state of things. But when the head of the family dies, and the pecuniary supply stops, and they are left still expecting husbands—then comes the tug of life. Not having been taught to work in any useful branch of industry, they are perfectly unable to compete with the skilled workers of their own sex; and having been delicately nurtured, they are unable to perform the duties of domestics, and fly to the advertising columns of the 'Times;' some offering their services as 'teachers' and 'governesses,' being alike mentally and physically incapable of either; while others, as a forlorn hope, undertake the care of widowers' houses. How can women brought up in such a foolish way hope to stem the torrent of adversity? A thousand channels are open to men, but very few branches of industry are open to females, who, without the elegance, and refinement, and good sense of the educated gentlewoman, have yet been surrounded by refined associations, and are, therefore, incapable of contending in the stern arena of life—a battle-field from which men do not always come out successful.

It has been calculated that when one thousand heads of families die without having made some provision for them, that four thousand destitute children and women are bequeathed as an unwelcome legacy to the community. What can, what does become of these? The union workhouses and hospitals afford the melancholy response to this question. Certain numbers of them, no doubt, struggle into some honest way of support; but too many of those whom the selfishness and thoughtlessness of parents and others thus fling on the world, it is to be feared, become—the sons adventurers, the girls prostitutes.

Daily experience teaches those who at all observe what is going on around them that it is not the labouring, nor even the mechanical portion of our working population that are thus improvident; but that this want of forethought exists where we least expect to find it, and where it ought not to be found: among the more intelligent classes, among those whose incomes range within a few hundreds, and end with their lives. We do not wish to include the whole of this large class under one sweeping censure of carelessness and extravagance; for we know that hundreds of worthy men take a pride and a pleasure in undergoing much privation, and really experience no small amount of mental torture in making provision for a family. Nevertheless, we may safely add that every reader of these lines, whose pecuniary circumstances allow him to minister to the distresses of others, can give almost daily instances of appeals to his pocket on behalf of widows and orphans. This would not be the case were the valuable system of Life Assurance more fully appreciated and more extensively practised. It were difficult to select a subject more intimately connected with the stern realities of life, or a principle capable of more universal application than this, which, if considered only in a restricted sense, as a means of provision for families, is of the highest importance to every class of the community; for although its nature is such that it may be rendered subservient to nearly all the arrangements of business and the contingencies of life, yet the chief feature of

of life assurance is the facility it affords to persons of restricted means for bequeathing legacies which, without its aid, no effort of theirs would enable them to do. At the period of its original introduction, and when life assurance was confined to few objects, persons of narrow means might plead the impossibility of providing for widows and children from the fact that there was no existing facility which would enable them to secure a future valuable property by present economy and comparatively small savings. But since the numerous facilities and variety of purposes to which life assurance may be applied have been so thoroughly and so often explained to those classes whom such details should specially interest, there is no excuse for a man with any regular income at all leaving a wife or children utterly unprovided for. Were any proofs required of the culpable negligence of hundreds of parents to make future provision for those dependent upon them, we might find one in the indifference withwhich the majority of those individuals who more particularly require its aid all but ignore the existence of a system, which, if properly estimated by them, would save their wives and daughters from sorrow and shame. When 'life agents,' as they are called, are canvassing for 'proposals' for a particular office among those classes to whom we now appeal, he is too often met with the excuse that the payments of the premiums cannot be spared from the income, which, perchance, is only 300*l.* or 400*l.*; but how does a mechanic, with no more, perhaps, than 30*s.* a week, continue to pay to a sick-club or benefit-society, in order to secure assistance when ill, or the means of decently burying his children? Simply because he is manly enough to appear what he is, and is not possessed with the idea of raising himself (in appearance only) to the position of one with twice his wages. Limited as the practice of life assurance is even now, and notwithstanding that its principles have, for these last twenty or thirty years, been most widely disseminated, yet among the classes where its operations can be traced, it has been found to be productive of the most beneficial effects. The peasant and the artisan in very numerous instances have been led to the practice of industrial and temperate habits, and have learned the advantages of economy and prudence, and acquired a higher tone of moral and religious feeling. Those of the labouring and industrial classes who have been able to subscribe for its advantages, or been led to practise it, have risen higher in the social and moral scale, and have even attained a higher rate of longevity.

Guildford, Surrey.

2. The new Reform Bill. A Dialogue.

Hughes. Well, we are to get in our hand now, it seems. The good time is coming to working men at last.

Wilson. Is it? I am glad to hear it. But how?

H. Why, there is to be a new Reform Bill, and we are to have a wide extension of the suffrage. It is said that they are going to frame it so that working men are all to have votes. Isn't it jolly? If you had been with me last night you would have heard all about it. It was famously discussed at the *Robin Hood;* but you never go there.

W. No, never. But how is the good time coming?

H. Why, by our getting votes—what they call 'the franchise.'

W. What good will that do?

H. Oh, surely you don't mean to deny or dispute that it will be a benefit. Surely you are not sorry to get a vote for a Member of Parliament, and that all of us should get one. Don't you see what a power of good it will do?

W. If you see it so clearly, I wish you would tell me. I am not sorry that we are getting votes, if we *are* to get them. Far from it. I am very glad, though I cannot help feeling a little anxious as to the use that may be made of the privilege. But I want you to tell me where the benefit really lies, and what is the precise advantage to be derived by our class from the new franchise.

H. If you had only been with me at the *Robin Hood*, you would have heard it explained to purpose. Jem Alcock read the newspaper, and then we fell to discussing the subject. Bill Orton, and Joe Hicks, and Kennedy the Scotchman, and three or four more, and myself, all set to it, and I think we made it plain enough that times would not be as they had been.

W. What did you say? and how did you make it out?

H. Well,

H. Well, as for telling you what we said, he would be a clever fellow who could do that, we said so much. And, besides, we got rather noisy at last; and Orton and Kennedy made such long speeches, the others talking all the while across them, and we cheered and laughed so loud, and kept it up so late, that I feel rather confused this morning. But I remember that we settled it to our entire satisfaction, that when we get the franchise we shall, of course, vote against taxes, and abuses, and all that sort of thing, and make the great men in parliament do justice to the labouring classes, and make laws for their benefit.

W. That is rather vague, but it sounds very well upon the whole, and I hope that you will keep it in mind at the hustings and the polling-booth. You will recollect, however, that what you will have to vote for is not justice and wisdom, and all that in the abstract, but a particular *man* who offers himself as a candidate; and what you will have to vote *against* is another man, and not directly against abuses, taxes, aristocracy, and such like. I hope that you and I and all the rest of our class will vote conscientiously and intelligently; and if we do there can be no doubt that evils will be gradually corrected where they still exist, even after all that has been done of late years for the removal of the burdens which pressed upon industry, and bore hard upon the families of labouring men. I think I can see some important benefits which will flow, not only to our own order, but to the community at large from the extension of the suffrage, if we only make a right use of it. But really, neighbour, for you and me to expect that, as individuals, it will materially and at once improve our condition—that it will furnish a cure for all our ills and a supply for all our wants—is a mere delusion; is, in fact, downright nonsense and folly.

H. Well, I don't know; it seemed clear enough last night. I wish you had heard Bill Orton and Kennedy upon it.

W. Ay, ay, I dare say they saw—particularly when they got a little 'confused,' as you call it—a great many benefits to workmen in this Reform Bill which I cannot discern. I don't undervalue the suffrage; on the contrary, I think it will do good: but as for lifting us out of all our difficulties, procuring us easy work and high wages, and materially smoothing our path through life, depend upon it this Bill will do nothing of the sort. I can do far more for you myself than it will ever do, or, rather, I can tell you how you may do far more for yourself.

H. Bravo! Let us hear. I wish we'd had you at the *Robin Hood* last night with your grand plan. Will you come to-night and expound it?

W. Now, my good friend, this is the very thing which my scheme would knock on the head, this wasting of time and money at the *Robin Hood*. If you would only keep out of the public-house, and devote to better purpose the time and money squandered there, you would do far more for yourself in one year than the new Reform Bill will do for you in ten; far more to improve your circumstances, far more to raise yourself in the social scale, far more to promote your credit and respectability, far more for your best interests both here and hereafter. I am quite serious. The franchise you speak of will not directly put a shilling in your pocket, and, indirectly, it will at best put only a few; while the course which I recommend will directly save you two or three pounds a year, and gain for you perhaps as much more; and indirectly, in its effect upon your health and character and credit, and upon the position and prospects of your family, it will benefit you to ten times that amount. And consider that *here* you have, under God, your future welfare in a great measure in your own hands. You may never get the franchise you talk about; and even if you should, it will work very slowly in your favour: *here* you can yourself operate at once and most effectually. What think you, Hughes?

H. Well, I suppose there is something in what you say. But I don't see much that is *new* in your scheme. It seems to me that I have heard it all before.

W. Very likely, though I don't think that you ever heard it at the *Robin Hood*. But new or old, is there sense and reason in it?

H. Perhaps there may be. But one must have amusement of some kind, and as well take it at the *Robin Hood* as anywhere else. And then we expect to get it cheaper, for Bill Orton says that we'll vote the duty off hops and licences, and so cheapen the beer; and Kennedy swears that the very first use which

which we ought to make of the suffrage is to strike the duty off whiskey. So we won't spend so much money, you see.

W. I am not so sure of that. But even if it were so, what do you think of the loss of time, the fostering of a love of drink and dissipation in yourself and others, the injury done to your family, to your health, and to your reputation, not to speak of the eternity to which we are all approaching? Is there nothing here to make you pause and ponder? Then as to recreation, I am very far from frowning upon it. We must have amusement, as you say; but there is no reason why it should be of a kind to leave a sting behind it. I can enjoy myself right well at home with my family, with a good book or other occupation which I have a taste for, or I can have the company of a neighbour, or amuse myself out of doors, and be a far better man in health and strength and spirits than if I were soaking night after night in the *Robin Hood*. And, by the way, if we get this new franchise, I tell you frankly that I hope to see another use made of it than your friends Orton and Kennedy anticipate. What would you say if, by means of this same franchise, we were to make a rapid reduction—perhaps a clean sweep—of those pests and snares, the public-houses?

H. Do you really believe that you will ever see such a thing as this?

W. I shouldn't wonder. We shall see. Meanwhile don't let you and me deceive ourselves about the great things which this Reform Bill is to accomplish. I think that we—the working classes—may get something out of it in a few years, if we understand our own interests, and are earnest and united in seeking to advance them. I really do think, as I have said, that the parliament might still do something for us to promote our comfort, improve our circumstances, and further our elevation and intelligence. But I know full well that it will not, and cannot, do a hundredth part of what we may do for ourselves. Let us only be industrious and frugal, sober, steady, and trustworthy—let us embrace every means of self-improvement, and avail ourselves of every lawful opportunity of getting forward in the world—and, if God grant us life and health, we shall do a thousand times more for ourselves and our families than all the Reform Bills in the world will ever do for us or for them. Such is my view of the case, and I try to act accordingly.

H. Well, somehow you do get better on than most of us, though you had no better chance at first.

W. Not quite so good a chance, I think. But if I have got on well, take my word for it, it has not been by trusting to Reform Bills, or spending my nights at the *Robin Hood*. Good day, friend Hughes.

Wumphray, N. B.

3. The Great Social Evil.

To the Editors of Meliora.

Gentlemen,

Of the privilege of making suggestions on the great social topics of the day, which you have accorded to the supporters of 'Meliora,' I, as a humble, though, I trust, zealous member of that body, gladly avail myself.

That intemperance is the 'perennial fountain' from which impurity flows, must be evident to the most superficial inquirer. I can speak with some confidence on this point. It has been my lot to study in both an Irish and an English university, and during my residence in both, having gained the confidence of many of my fellow-students, who had departed from the paths of chastity, I found that in their calm, reflective moments, they all, with one or two exceptions, confessed that their first transgression of the laws of purity occurred when they were under the influence of intoxicating liquors.

That 'the drink' is the life-blood of prostitution also, close observation, whilst curate of the populous parish of St. Oswald's, Collyhurst, Manchester, compels me to acknowledge. Anxious to see the worst form of the terrible scourge in that city, I sallied forth on a Saturday evening, accompanied by two detective policemen and a well-known philanthropist. Disguised as a detective, I was enabled, without let or hindrance, to witness the abominations of the low theatre, the casino, the brothel, and the public-house. Horrified at the fearful, unmentionable scenes which met my gaze, I exclaimed, 'How are we ever to bring the Gospel to bear upon these poor creatures?' Never shall I forget the reply of the intelligent serjeant by whom I was escorted:—'Nothing, sir, can

can be done without the Maine Law.' Now, this man was not in any way connected with the temperance reformation, in either of its aspects; and his testimony was, therefore, the more impartial. Would to God, that that testimony, borne by one so conversant with vice in all its ramifications, were duly pondered by every Christian throughout the kingdom!

But there is another point to which those who possess influence over the female mind should direct it, viz.: the duty of banishing from their society the man who is known to have been guilty of seduction, or to indulge in fornication. The power of the mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters of our land is tremendous. Let them, then, repel with righteous indignation from their acquaintance, and from their homes, the villain who has robbed their sister of her honour, and, perchance, then flung her off to float as offal on the surface of society. Such is *not* their mode of procedure at present. The broken-hearted victim is shunned as 'an unclean thing,' while the exultant victimiser is patronised and caressed. Nay: is it not notorious that many a fair and gentle woman bestows her heart and her hand as readily upon the well-known seducer or fornicator as upon the chaste and godly man?

Women of the United Kingdom! these things ought not so to be. Rise in the majesty of your purity, and frown down this dreadful vice, which, to a greater extent than is supposed, is undermining the foundations of the body social.

Ministers of Christ's gospel! let us not be ashamed to speak plainly on this subject. The truths which we utter may be bitter and unpalatable, but they are decidedly wholesome.

I am, gentlemen,

Faithfully yours,

JOHN KINGSTON,
Curate of Durrus, Diocese of Cork.

ART. VII.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

IF Social Science has not made progress during the last few months, it certainly has not been the fault of those devoted to its pursuit.

The meeting of the British Association at Leeds afforded an opportunity to Professor Owen, the president for the year, to deliver one of the most eloquent and thoughtful of the numerous public addresses which the parliamentary vacation always offers. The recent changes in the departmental arrangements of the Association affording, in the statistical and economical section, scope for inquiry into questions formerly excluded, will, no doubt, render the British Association for the Promotion of Science even more popular than it has been; still, devoted as it must be mainly to the discussion and development of pure science, the interest attached to its meetings by social politicians will always be far less than that excited by the gathering of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. The second annual meeting of this latter body has been unquestionably the great event of the vacation.

The selection of Liverpool as the place of meeting for the present year was happy. Easy of access, and in itself, as the outlet and inlet of the streams of commerce which fertilize the northern counties, possessing very great interest, the facilities presented exist in few provincial towns. The noble structure St. George's Hall enabled the committee to hold all the meetings of the Association under one roof—the large gatherings in the great hall, and the several departments in the courts and the various anterooms which surround them.

Possibly the arrangements of the Liverpool meeting indicated a danger lest these splendid gatherings should degenerate into complimentary speech-makings, and the pleasant gossip of the soirée supersede the serious and important work of the sections. Possibly the discussions, hurried as they necessarily were, from the immense pressure of business, may be considered unsatisfactory; and the constant repetition of similar suggestions and thoughts from many individuals, each equally entitled to respect, be thought wearisome and unnecessary. But with all the fault which the most captious can discover, it is impossible to refuse to acknowledge

acknowledge that the Liverpool meeting was a great success, or to recognise the progress of one of the noblest efforts of modern civilisation.

The inaugural meeting, at which Lord John Russell delivered the opening address, was not only a brilliant but an affecting scene. The great hall, probably the most gorgeous in the world, with its massive gates, its granite columns, and its tesselated floor, was crowded to its utmost capacity with an enthusiastic audience. The gay toilets of the fair auditors gave brightness to the appearance of so vast a body of people; and the interest excited by the presence of statesmen of world-wide celebrity kept all in a state of lively excitement. But there, it must be confessed, enjoyment ended. The eye was gratified, but the ear was disappointed. Hardly a word could be caught by the most attentive listener to the noble lord who presided. At all times remarkable rather for the sound sense of his matter than for the grace of his manner, Lord John Russell's reading of his inaugural address was but a dull affair. With the exception of a few hundreds immediately surrounding him, the whole of the vast assembly were left to derive their knowledge of what was going forward from the same source as their less fortunate brethren outside—the reports of the public press. We avail ourselves of this source of information to congratulate our readers on the frank and explicit avowals made by the president. Addressing himself to the various departments of the Association, Lord John said something on jurisprudence, on education, on punishment and reformation, on public health, and on social economy—a wide range of subjects, and exhibiting a wide sympathy. From an address occupying in delivery nearly two hours it is impossible to present adequate extracts. The entire speeches have been printed as a cheap pamphlet, and may be had from our publishers; and they will doubtless appear, revised by their authors, among the proceedings of the Association. Although fully recognising the efforts put forth, and hopeful of results, the facts as stated by Lord John Russell certainly point to many difficulties, and to a sad social condition.

'Our judicial statistics,' said he, 'it is well known, are very incomplete; indeed, we have hitherto had no information of any value giving the results of the proceedings of our civil courts. With regard to criminal trials and their results, we have, indeed, valuable annual returns, drawn up by a very intelligent officer attached to the Home Department—I mean Mr. Samuel Redgrave. From the return presented to parliament, I am about to quote the results of the trials which have taken place on several subjects of criminal jurisdiction. Those are, the offences of—1st, shooting at, stabbing, or wounding; 2nd, robbery; 3rd, burglary; 4th, housebreaking; 5th, larceny in a dwelling-house; 6th, forgery, and uttering forged instruments. The returns show the numbers convicted, sentenced to death, and executed for these offences in one year in every ten from 1817 to 1857, or, in other words, the changes which have taken place in forty years. I give you the results:—

	Convicted.	Sentenced to death.	Executed.
1817	912	911	78
1827	1,113	1,113	41
1837	1,081	405	None.
1847	1,498	18	None.
1857	2,057	21	None.

'The population of Great Britain has increased from 1811 to 1851, in round numbers, from 12,000,000 to 21,000,000; and in England and Wales from 10,000,000 to 18,000,000. You will perceive that convictions have increased, and in a greater proportion. Upon examining these returns more in detail, there is a further result, namely, a great increase in crimes accompanied with personal violence. Thus, the numbers convicted of shooting at, stabbing, or wounding, has increased, between 1817 and 1857, from 26 to 208, and of robbery, from 154 to 378; while larceny in a dwelling-house has only increased from 143 to 246. Burglary has increased from 374 to 473; housebreaking, from 152 to 568; forgery, &c., from 62 to 184.

'The punishment of death,' he continues, 'being nearly discontinued, transportation to a colony virtually abolished, it has become a necessity for us to consume our own crime, and not to send it forth to contaminate other parts of the world. Hence it is a problem of the deepest interest to us to ascertain in what manner the thousands of criminals we used to send to Australia can be most effectually punished, for the sake of example, and most effectually reformed, for their own sake and that of the community.'

And in propounding the question of public health, before congratulating the association upon much hopeful progress, Lord John did not hesitate to sound an alarm which may well arouse serious attention.

'On the question of public health,' he said, 'I find this statement in the registrar-general's report of the quarter ending June 30, 1858. "Upon dividing the population into two portions (1) the 8,247,117 people living in rather close proximity to each other, and (2) the 9,680,592 living much further apart, the result is, that the mortality in the dense districts was at the rate of 24·73, nearly 25 in 1000; while in the other districts, over which small towns and villages are distributed, the mortality was at the rate of 19·58, nearly 20 in 1000 of the population." Thus it appears that five persons more die every year in every 1000 of the 8,000,000 of people living in large towns than of the nine and a half millions of people living in the country; in other words, the excess of deaths in the large towns is 40,000 a year. When we add to this result the fact that temptations to intoxication and to vice of every kind are far more common in towns than in the country, that the means of education are likewise in large towns either less complete or less used, it is alarming to find by another statement of the registrar-general, that in England and Wales the town population is increasing much more rapidly than the population of the rest of the country. I suppose every one will agree that the tide of population cannot be checked or diverted from its channel; yet we cannot deny the importance or the urgency of the following questions. Now, in England and Wales the town population is increasing much faster than the population of the rest of the country; and the question is therefore becoming every day graver —How is the health of the nation to be sustained in the midst of the new dangers which millions of its people are encountering?'

Passing in review all which is being done in the various departments of social progress, the president did not hesitate, however, to avow his faith in ultimate substantial success.

'We are not,' said he, 'like some philosophers of the last century, enamoured of an age of reason which will never come to pass. Nor do we share in the dreams of philanthropists who ten years ago imagined that if property, and capital, and competition were put down by authority, the human race might sit down in happiness and contentment. Our task is more humble, but, as we conceive, more in accordance with the decrees of our Divine Creator. To mankind is allotted labour as its portion and perpetual inheritance. If any think that he has nothing to do but to eat, drink, and be merry, in that very night as fearful a doom may fall upon him as it did upon the tyrant of old. If any suppose, like the masters of the Roman empire, that the sword has done its work, and that nothing remains for them but luxurious enjoyment, that very luxury may revenge the conquered world. If any imagine that to them belongs dominion, and that they may indulge in contempt of the unlettered and ill-fed multitude, that very multitude may overwhelm them in bloody and merciless retribution. It is for us to work as truly as the man who forges the iron bar, or the woman who works at the factory loom. It is for us to endeavour to improve the laws by which the community is governed. It is for us to show how education may be extended and diffused. It is for us to examine and record what has been done for the reformation and punishment of offenders. It is for us to confirm and animate the efforts which are being made to sustain the public health, and thereby preserve for this country her eminence as the home of a vigorous and independent race of men. It is for us to investigate the conditions of the great problems of political economy, which may often admit of exceptions, but never of refutations. In so doing we shall but consult the welfare of the present and future generations; in so doing we shall follow the path traced out for us by Almighty Benevolence and Almighty Wisdom.'

After the address of the president a vote of thanks to Lord Brougham, as the abdicating potentate, was proposed by Lord Shaftesbury and seconded by Sir John Pakington. And then rose the old man, whose name was in all mouths, and whose honour was in all hearts, whose head has grown gray in the service of the people, and who, in spite of human frailty, seems determined, in the mature wisdom of his last years, to rival the usefulness and fame of his youthful zeal. The few words he

he addressed to the meeting indicated not merely that the skill of the orator had not been forgotten, though a little rusty from disuse, or perhaps a little stiff with age, but that, in the emphatic words of Sir John Pakington, 'the giant intellect of Henry Brougham was as fresh as ever.' With this tribute to the originator of the association, the interest of the opening meeting culminated, and the assembly rapidly dispersed.

The following day was devoted to the inaugural addresses of the presidents of the various sections. Over that of jurisprudence the Lord Chancellor of Ireland nominally assumed directorship; those of education, public health, punishment and reformation, and social economy being respectively placed under the care of the Hon. F. Cowper, M.P., Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Carlisle, and Sir James Stephen.

Every address was characterised by clearness of thought and boldness of expression; and, to add to the already high gratification of the members, Lord Brougham volunteered to deliver his opinions in vindication of the history and results of cheap literature. No man could be better fitted for the task. Connected from its establishment with the well-known Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge, under whose auspices were produced not only the 'Penny Magazine,' the first of a long list of admirable weekly papers, but also the 'Penny Cyclopædia,' a work still unrivalled, Lord Brougham entered with the chivalry of an old knight into an elaborate defence of the proceedings of that society and a vindication of its usefulness. Possibly the best tribute to its worth is the fact that it has become comparatively worthless, because no longer needed. When the 'Penny Magazine' was first established, no less than nine weekly papers were devoted to the circulation of the most abominable matter—morally scandalous and obscene. The 'Penny Magazine' drove these entirely out of existence, leaving behind them only a feeble progeny, which, skulking in corners, has hardly ever been heard of since. Now, although the 'Penny Magazine' itself has long been displaced and has departed this life, it has engendered a taste which, supporting its successors, has rendered popular literature one of the most profitable business investments. The 'London Journal' sells 350,000 weekly; Cassell's 'Family Illustrated Paper' probably 285,000; the 'Family Herald' 250,000; and the 'Popular History of England' 100,000 copies. While the 'Penny Magazine,' at its highest circulation, was believed, according to Lord Brougham, to have nearly a million *readers*, there are several of those now published, *each of which* must have at least twice that number.

After two days of the week had been spent in listening to these addresses, and in deriving inspiration from the social intercourse promoted among the members, the serious work of the sections began. And here, at the outset, was felt the inconvenience to which we have already alluded. The papers sent in to the Committee were so numerous, that it was necessary strictly to enforce the rule which excluded all which had not been forwarded prior to a fixed date. Of this no one could reasonably complain. Many excellent and interesting papers were doubtless excluded; but a rigid adherence to rule is absolutely essential in the arrangements for such a gathering. But a more formidable obstruction to the progress of business existed. On certain subjects many papers were sent in, and of course, being quite in accordance with rule, admitted and read. Thus in that section and on that subject, instead of free, full, and lively *discussion*, in which those comparatively uninformed may often take part most advantageously, we had a series of careful papers, each excellent, but in many cases containing mere repetition of the same facts and the same ideas. The time for discussion was thus entirely consumed; and we confess ourselves unable, in many instances, to detect any practical result arrived at, or even any substantial benefit obtained. It is very difficult, too, to point out any remedy for this unfortunate state of things. It would be easy to say that one well-considered paper should be read, and discussion on that be promoted with a view to the formation of opinion, the removal of difficulty, or the answering of objection; but the puzzling question remains, Whose paper is to be read? Every author naturally thinks his own production the best, and no committee would willingly undertake the invidious task of selection. But this is a difficulty which must be considered by the committee, and we recommend it to their deliberations.

We must not be understood to mean

more than this was a drawback, but not a fatal defect. The proceedings of the sections were, on the whole, intensely interesting, and, amid considerable diversity of sentiment, true harmony was preserved.

A curious mistake has been fallen into by the 'Times' and by Mr. Hutt, the Member for Gateshead. Admitting the importance of the various social questions discussed—and these ranged over the entire domain of social morals and social politics—the Hon. Member declared his surprise that one of the greatest--popular intemperance--should have excited so little attention. This would, indeed, have been a grievous mistake; but from the guarded utterances of Lord Shaftesbury to the outspoken entreaties of Lord Brougham, *this* great question *was* alluded to by all speakers.

'Is there any one here,' said Lord Shaftesbury, 'in the least degree conversant with the state of our alleys, dwellings, and various localities, who will deny this great undeniable truth, which all experience confirms; for if you go into these frightful places you will see there the causes of moral mischief, and I do verily believe that seven-tenths of it are attributable to that which is the greatest curse of the country—that which destroys their physical and moral existence, cuts through their domestic ties, and reduces them to pauperism, with all its various degradation—habits of drinking and systems of intoxication.'

And with a striking and most gratifying advance on previous opinions, though still a little halting, Lord Brougham, in trumpet tones, propounded abstinence as the great handmaid of knowledge. 'We profess,' said he, in his speech on popular literature, already referred to, 'to encourage reading among the people, and we directly and effectually discourage it, raising the price and lowering the value of everything they read. To a certain degree, however, the people have a remedy in their own hands. Let them firmly resolve to meet the paper duty by practising a salutary economy in the use of their earnings. The tax adds to the price of what they buy to read. Let them deduct as much from their other expenses, and the pressure of the tax ceases. Let them abstain from the use of fermented liquors, not at first altogether, but so far as to increase by a little the sum they pay for cheap works. *They will feel themselves all the better for the change, and will be encouraged to carry it further, so as to give up* ALTOGETHER *the use of both beer and spirits.* That the greatest obstacle to their improvement is also the greatest injury to their health, the worst enemy to their comfort and happiness, is undeniable; nor can there be a more natural or more appropriate manner of meeting and overcoming this adversary than to make the practice of temperance a help to knowledge; thus *setting at defiance the obstinate errors of the short-sighted and inconsistent legislature*, and showing it by the wise and provident consistency of their own conduct.'

Beyond this, at one of the conversaziones held during the evening soirées, the public-house system was submitted to a fuller discussion than could have been given to it in the section, the only disadvantage being the absence of newspaper publicity.

The discussion opened by a paper read by Mr. Jowett, of Leeds, recommending the adoption of Mr. Hardy's Bill, was supported by Mr. Pope, the Honorary Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance, Mr. Lupton, Rev. J. A. Steinthal, and many others, and a very considerable interest displayed on the part of the members.

We must not omit a bare allusion to the popular feature of the gathering, in the form of a public meeting of working men, addressed by Lord John Russell, Lord Brougham, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Carlisle, and Lord Sandon—an enthusiastic demonstration of the sentiments of the masses. It is hard to imagine that any one can look with doubt on the efforts of social reformers as being in Utopian advance of the wishes and feelings of the people. Upon all social questions, the deeper the foundation be sought, the more solid will it be found. Do we desire to remove the temptations to appetite presented by the public-house? From the sufferers themselves comes the most eager assistance. Do we seek to promote public health by strict sanatory arrangements? The active opposition emanates from the owners, but not from the occupiers of the noisome dwellings. Do we inquire for some definite opinion—aye or no—on great questions of social reform? We may obtain it from the hard-handed and hard-headed artisan; but we often ask for it in

in vain from the tradesman and the employer. This is a hopeful circumstance. If the working classes are to be raised, the fulcrum of the lever will be found among themselves. No government, however powerful, must be depended on; no association, however vigorous or however dignified, must be appealed to; the people, for themselves, must, and we have never doubted will work out their own redemption from the slavery of vice and the ruin of intemperance and improvidence.

With a grand banquet the Liverpool meeting closed. It has not officially transpired, but we believe Bradford has been fixed upon for the next year's assembly.

Art. VIII.—LITERARY REVIEWS.

1. Biography.

A Memoir of Elizabeth Fry. By her daughter, Mrs. Frances Cresswell. Abridged from the larger Memoir, with alterations and additions. London: Piper, Stephenson, and Spence.

THIS volume is a great improvement upon the former in two volumes. Mrs. Cresswell has exercised a wise discretion in abridging the previous biography, which was dull and heavy. In the present work the beautiful character and philanthropic labours of Elizabeth Fry are ably portrayed. Such a history as that of this distinguished lady is worthy of earnest study, and can scarcely fail to prove an example which many would wish to follow. In her own day

'Who that saw her pass, and heard the poor,
With earnest benedictions on her steps
Attend, could with obeisance keep his eye
Or tongue from due applause?
* * * * *
Old men beheld, and did her reverence,
And bade their daughters look, and take from her
Example of their future life. The young
Admired, and new resolve of virtue made.'

The reform of our prison discipline owed much to her, and in efforts for the improvement of the prisoners she may well be styled the Female Howard. We trust all our readers will become familiar with this biography.

The Life of Alderman Kelly, Lord Mayor of London. By the Rev. R. C. Fell, M.A. Third Edition. London: Partridge and Co. 1858.

WE are delighted to see a new edition of this excellent biography. Thomas Kelly rose from the humblest to the highest station in London, and his life is a model for young men in business. Strict integrity, filial piety, a patriotic spirit, and a genuine, unobtrusive religion conspired to make him at once successful in trade, happy in mind, and useful in his generation. Mr. Fell has used his materials to good advantage by preparing a biography for young men throughout the land.

The Devoted Minister: A Memoir of the Rev. David Wilson, of Cumnock, Ayrshire. By the Author of A Memoir of Mrs. Andrew. Edinburgh: Thomas Grant. 1858.

IT has given us much pleasure to peruse this memorial of a faithful minister, having many memories connected with the parish in which Mr. Wilson laboured, though long after his day. It is to be regretted that the record is so brief; but at this distance of time—Mr. Wilson having died in 1822—the materials were probably very few.

2. Social Science.

The State of our Educational Enterprises. A Report of an Examination into the working of the Chief Public Educational Experiments in Great Britain and Ireland. By the Rev. William Fraser, Paisley. Glasgow: Blackie and Son. 1858.

A MOST valuable document, prepared with great care, and after personal visitation of our chief educational establishments. The author was selected by a number of influential gentlemen, interested in national education in Glasgow, and his execution of the trust proves how wise was their choice. This report cannot fail to impress educational reformers, and we trust it will fall into their hands.

A Handbook of the Cotton Trade: or, a Glance at the Past History, Present Condition, and Future Prospects of the Cotton Commerce of the World. By Thomas Ellison. Dedicated, by permission, to the Right Hon. Lord Stanley, M.P., &c. London: Longman and Co. 1858.

THE object of this work is, according to the author, 'First, to furnish the cotton-

cotton-merchant, broker, and manufacturer with a portable book of reference, containing reliable information, statistical and otherwise, relating to the origin, progress, present condition, and future prospects of the great trade in which they are engaged; and, secondly, an elucidation of the question of "Cotton Supply," which has of late been so prominently before the public of both sides of the Atlantic.' There can be no doubt of the value of a work professing such an object, and Mr. Ellison has, within the compass of 200 pages, done great justice to his subject. His volume is divided into three books: the first being devoted to the Botany and Cultivation of the Cotton Plant; the second to the Progress of Cotton Cultivation in the United States, the East and West Indies, South America, Africa, &c.; and the third to the Cotton Consuming Countries, Great Britain and the Continent of Europe. This will at once indicate to the reader the character of the work, which contains much information strictly accurate, carefully compiled, and illustrated by numerous statistical tables. Cotton Supply forming an article in the present number of the Review, we need not enter on the general subject, but have much pleasure in commending to our readers the Handbook of Mr. Ellison.

Good Times: or the Savings' Bank and the Fireside. London: Groombridge and Sons.

This pamphlet of sixty pages, in small type, contains a large amount of practical wisdom on subjects of deepest interest to the working classes generally. It opens with a comparison of what was the social condition of Europe and America one hundred years ago, and what now prevails; but immediately after proceeds to discuss existing evils and the best means of ameliorating them. The author is no Utopian, but a man of strong common sense. His proposals can be practically tested by every working man. Were they generally used, society would be healthier, wealthier, and wiser. We should be glad if our recommendation of this cheap fourpenny pamphlet could extend its circulation by thousands.

Our Mourning Customs. London: Whitfield. 1858.

This pamphlet is a reprint, and sets forth the absurdity and needless expense of our present mourning customs. There is, no doubt, much room for improvement amongst us in this, and good would result from the adoption of some of the author's views.

How to reduce Poor Rates: or Free Public Rate, Supported News Rooms, and Lending Libraries versus *Mechanics' Institutes, with Remarks on the Public Libraries Act.* By M. H. Feilde, Esq. London: Skeet, 1858.

This is a letter addressed to the Metropolitan ratepayers, advocating the establishment of free libraries. The author is most impassioned in his appeals, and despite several *outré* opinions, with which we cannot agree, has a good cause, which he has argued well. A rate for knowledge is the cheapest and the best that can be imposed, and we heartily wish every large parish availed itself of the provisions of Mr. Ewart's Act.

Daughters from Home. London: Jarrold and Sons.

This is one of an admirable series of Household Tracts for the People, which are well written, contain much practical wisdom, are adapted to the wants of society, and deserve to be circulated by every social reformer.

Practical Hydropathy. By John Smedley. London: Kendrick. 1858.

Mr. Smedley has collected many valuable facts respecting hydropathy, and added descriptions and directions that will scarcely fail to induce many invalids to try his establishment. The work is beautifully printed and profusely illustrated. It is pervaded with a high moral and religious tone.

John Hampton's Home: what it was and what it became. London: Knight and Son. 1858.

Art combines with letter-press to persuade the drunken to become sober, and the godless religious, in this well got up work. It deserves an extensive circulation among the homes of the working classes.

3. Religion.

The Eden Family. By the Rev. Jeremiah Dodsworth, author of 'The Better Land.' London: Partridge and Co. 1858.

This is a practical work, which presents religious truth in a very interesting aspect. We have been particularly

ticularly pleased with the ingenious divisions adapted by the author. They give a charm to the various subjects, which are well illustrated and earnestly enforced. Dealing with the most important matters that can engage human interest, it is likely to impress and benefit all who peruse it.

An Earnest Exhortation to Christian Unity, affectionately addressed to the members of every religious community and denomination, be they Hebrew, Christian, or Infidel. By the Chief of Sinners. London: Partridge and Co. 1858.

The Chief of Sinners is not wanting in presumption. His sincerity perhaps makes him bold; but his rambling, illogical, and really pointless book will not gain many disciples. He treats his readers to several of the inspired writings transcribed at full length—such as the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, and many of the Epistles. As an author he is emphatically one of the Chief of Sinners, and we trust his temerity may be succeeded by becoming penitence and future privacy.

Sermons and Lectures to the Working Classes. By the Rev. Robert Maguire, M.A., Incumbent of Clerkenwell. London: Partridge and Co.

These are most admirable discourses for the times, and expound, in forcible language, the truth of the Bible in relation to certain social evils. They discuss the following subjects:—The Better Observance of the Lord's Day; Sunday Buying and Selling; Early Payment of Wages and Early Closing. They deserve an extensive circulation among masters and workmen, and in all our large towns.

The Church in the Circus. By the Rev. John G. F. H. Knapp, Incumbent of St. John's, Portsea. London: Partridge and Co. 1858.

This little work gives a narrative of the remarkable success which attended the preaching of the Gospel in a circus at Portsmouth. The author has strong sympathy with the working classes, and he has gained their attention by means of the earnest efforts which he has put forth on their behalf. Ministers and others interested in reaching the masses of the people would do well to peruse Mr. Knapp's practical and suggestive narrative.

The Four Evangelists: their Distinctive Designs and Peculiarities. Manchester: Bremner. 1858.

This small work, the composition of a member of the Manchester Young Men's Christian Association, is a performance of considerable merit. It evinces a most intelligent study of the four Gospel histories, and presents a clear and succinct view of their designs and peculiarities. It is a valuable introduction to the examination of the early books of the New Testament. If this be a specimen of the papers read at meetings of young men it is indicative of an advanced intelligence and earnest piety. Such literary efforts, and the generous criticisms they encourage, do much to cultivate the mind, settle the doubts, improve the hearts, and direct the energies of young men in large towns.

Fly-Leaves. A Book for the Churches. By Aristarchus the Wanderer. London: Partridge and Co.

We do not know why we should aspire to be censors of the religion of the day, and of the pulpit in particular; but we have been favoured with several small works animadverting upon these subjects. We presume that, since we deemed it our duty to treat of the social power of the pulpit, it is supposed we are specially interested in this part of social science and reform. The author of 'Fly-Leaves' finds many evils and inconsistencies in the religious profession of the time, and earnestly, as well as satirically, attempts to rebuke and exhort.

A Word to the Free Church and to Preachers. By the Rev. Samuel Macmillan. Aberdeen: Davidson.

The reverend gentleman who has prepared this *concio ad clerum* disapproves of *reading* sermons in the pulpit. He adduces arguments and authorities in support of his views, and laments the injurious effects of *reading* upon the Church of England—a practice which he regrets to see also in the Free Church of Scotland. With commendable zeal he protests against clerical indolence, and counsels fidelity in study, preaching, and pastoral care. There cannot be a doubt that the highest and most effective oratory has been uttered without reading; but some of the most able and successful preachers have read their sermons. The most natural is generally the most persuasive; and if preachers

preachers have an earnest manner and a strong intellect, they will be listened to whether they discourse with or without notes: but those of smaller calibre and less enthusiasm 'will find few congregations willing to accept their dulness for the sake of the accuracy with which it is expressed.'

Parson-ography; or the Book of Parsons. By Linnæus Lynx, Esq., M.A. London: Cash.

This little work is full of satire; perhaps rather too sharp to be useful; but it is very clever. There is, however, a lightness in the treatment which detracts from its serious effect.

Preaching, Prosing, and Puseyism, with other Peas of the Pod. By Feltham Burghley, author of 'Sonnets' and 'Sir Edwin Gilderoy.' London: J. F. Hope. 1858.

This work is a satire on the preaching of the times. The author has abundance of wit and humour, and hits very hard. He has, moreover, an evident love of the truth, and a great dislike to error and sham. He exposes many scandals in the performance of clerical duties at the present time. His pen has great caustic power, which he may use to good purpose. He seems to incline towards the evangelical side, and is very severe upon all Puseyites. But he does not spare *prosing* wherever he finds it. There is in our time evident improvement in pulpit address; but there is still room for progress and adaptation to the wants of the age.

Christianity and Secularism. By the Rev. James Scott, M.A. Edinburgh: Shepherd and Elliot.

The author has thoroughly exhausted, in some sixty pages, the controversy on which he has entered. He shows that reason is on the side of Christianity and against secularism. His mind is eminently metaphysical, and his logic severe. We commend the little work to all thoughtful readers, especially working men in large towns.

Letters to the Working Classes on Important Subjects. By one of themselves. Glasgow: W. R. M'Phun.

This small work discusses with considerable ability subjects of highest interest. The author is evidently well read and possessed of a clear and logical mind. Without the learning or metaphysical subtlety of the preceding work, this may with as much effect convince the inquiring among his fellow workmen.

The Temperance Pulpit. Nos. 1, 2, and 3. Glasgow: Scottish Temperance League. 1858.

As literary compositions, biblical expositions, and social tracts, this series, so far as it is published, is of the highest order, and merits extensive circulation. The first sermon is by the Rev. W. Arnot, of Glasgow, on *Christian Duty in relation to Drunkards and Drink.* It was preached before a large conference of ministers which assembled at Manchester in June, 1857, to consider the liquor-traffic, and was then published at their request. It advocates voluntary personal abstinence from intoxicating drinks and legal restraint upon their manufacture and sale. 'The one,' says he, 'is the soul of the temperance reformation, and the other its body. Either alone will certainly fail to work deliverance on a national scale. Actual abstinence by earnest men for their own and others' good, will not wipe away the shame of drunkenness from the country, as long as the dealers are permitted to treat the weak and the profligate as raw material for their trade. And, on the other hand, a law, entirely prohibiting or greatly restricting the traffic, cannot be enacted, and though enacted could not be enforced, unless a very large proportion of the community have become conscientious and systematic abstainers. The personal abstinence of the good, without a law to restrain the evil, would be a soul without a body; a prohibitory law, without a public sentiment in favour of abstinence, would be a body without a soul. The one is a ghost, the other a carcase.' Mr. Arnot founds his principles on the Scripture, and reasons them out with great clearness and vigour. The second sermon is called *Nehushtan, or the Principle of Hezekiah's Reformation applied to the Temperance Reformation*, and is by the Rev. Dr. Brown, of Dalkeith. His thoughts are historical, analogical, apologetical, and evangelical, and contain much truth ably set forth and applied. The third discourse is on *Abstinence: a special service for a special need*, by the Rev. Alexander Macleod, Glasgow. It is an eloquent appeal to professing Christians

Christians to join and support the abstinence movement. We hail the appearance of these sermons, and rejoice to observe that ministers of the gospel are growingly advancing in their views of abstinence. *O si sic omnes!* The church against the drink traffic would be its ruin and the blessedness of the land.

4. General Literature.

My *Recollections of the Last Four Popes, and of Rome in their Times.* An Answer to Dr. Wiseman. By Alessandro Gavazzi. London: Partridge and Co. 1858.

THE memories of the disputants with reference to the last four popes have very different records. This is not the place for entering into the controversy. We may add, however, that Signor Gavazzi writes with more force and earnestness than the Cardinal, if not with such refinement. His book evinces ardent patriotism and manly courage, as well as extensive acquaintance with public events of the holy see during the pontificates and changes of the last half century.

Self-Formation: Twelve Chapters for Young Thinkers. By Edwin Paxton Hood. Third Edition. London: Judd and Glass. 1858.

THIS work may be safely put into every intelligent young man's library. It is eminently calculated to stimulate thought, cultivate the mind, and improve the heart. It is written with ability, and in a most engaging style. The episodes introduced at the end of each chapter are very happy. Indeed, the whole work is interesting, and as literature for the rising generation is of the highest order. Philosophy and illustrations, precept and example, religion and learning are so harmoniously blended as to make the book such as the late Dr. Arnold would have loved to welcome and commend.

The Poetry of Teaching; or, The Village School, its subjects and its rulers. A Poem. By James Malcolm. London: Partridge and Co. 1858.

THIS is a well-meant attempt to set the village school to music; but the author is not a Goldsmith to realise his great idea in such verse as posterity will not willingly let die. There are, however, some good thoughts well expressed.

Hours of Sun and Shade; Musings in Prose and Verse; with Translations from Sixty Languages. By Vernon de Montgomery, author of 'The Immortal.' Second Edition, revised and enlarged. London: Partridge and Co. 1858.

THERE is true poetry in many of the pieces contained in this volume. Mr. de Montgomery has a good imagination, fine taste, noble and devout thoughts, and great felicity of expression—qualities eminently characteristic of the poet. 'The Eternal,' 'The Old Hall,' 'Sunset,' Twilight, Night,' contain vivid descriptions. The prose portions are beautiful and abound in good sentiments. The translations from sixty languages evidence considerable learning and rare ability to render one language into another. The author is, we understand, a young man, which encourages the hope that by care and study he may yet take a place among the poets of his country. We would suggest to him the propriety of separating the prose from the poetry, which in this volume are commingled. The advertisements at the end of the work we think in bad taste. Macassar oil, hair dye, essence of coffee, paper hangings, &c., may be very useful; but it is most unusual to append notices of them to a volume of poems.

Upward and Onward. A Thought-book for the Threshold of Active Life. By S. W. Partridge. London: 1857.

THIS work is for young men, and well fulfils its idea. Throughout every page there is condensed thought tersely though sometimes inelegantly expressed. The lessons it conveys are of the most practical kind—suited to the activities which engage young men, the temptations which surround them, and the responsibilities which press upon them.

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ERRATA.

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